



Institut français des relations internationales

2005 annual report

Knowledge _{for} Action

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Message from the President

Throughout 2005, Ifri continued its evolution toward the achievement of two key objectives: becoming more of a European institution while preserving its French identity, and growing in size to compare with its American counterparts.

Ifri's mission is to provide *expert analysis of international affairs*. Currently, the Institute's main fields of research are:

- Globalization (its governance, the corporate response, etc.) and energy issues;
- Classic security issues based on the rivalry between states and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- New security issues like international terrorism, the possibility of global pandemics, and the risk of climate change;
- The European continent (including Russia — the evolution of which will have major ramifications for the international system — and the new independent states created after the breakup of the Soviet Union), the on-going construction of the European Union (both its institutional and social dimensions), and transatlantic relations;
- East Asia and the Indian subcontinent;
- The Greater Middle East (including Afghanistan).



photo : Olivier Rollet

Ifri strives to both feed the democratic debate by informing the public on international issues and to assist decision-makers in both the private and public sectors. In pursuing our forward-looking and policy-oriented research, we rely on a network of experts around the world. We are committed to finding better ways to combine research and public debate. Ifri's growing stature in France over the years is reflected by the list of conferences and round tables held during 2005 along with the preeminence of our guest speakers.

Launched in Brussels in the spring of 2005, Eur-Ifri has rapidly established itself as an important center of debate, representing a new perspective in the landscape of ideas in "this European capital."

Most of the subjects mentioned above are, by nature, "transversal" or "interdisciplinary." For example, understanding the problem of energy requires economic and political expertise. Transatlantic relations involve, to a considerable extent, all the major international issues. In this sense, we are continually faced with the challenge of how to balance the autonomy legitimately sought for by our various research units with a capacity to combine approaches in order to satisfy the demands of the public. In order to ensure the quality of its activities as a whole, Ifri has created an advisory board composed primarily of respected figures in the world of international relations.

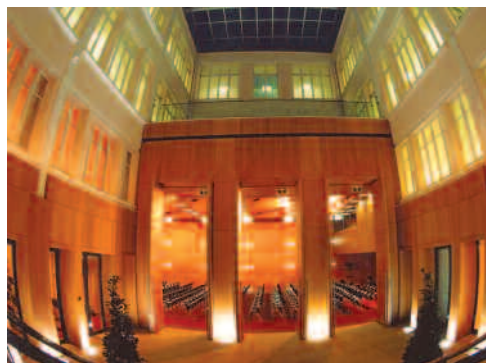
In 2005, Ifri's staff grew to 70 people, including a total of 34 researchers and associate researchers (7 of whom are foreign). This substantial process of renewal has meant that half of the staff is currently under the age of 40. Many of them have already attained or are in the process of acquiring international reputations.

The 2005 budget was € 5.3 million of which a little less than 40% was provided by public subsidies and a little more than 60% was made up of our own resources. Such a degree of independence from the state for an institution devoted primarily to research is unique in France. Our independence is due to a large extent to the support of corporate sponsors who contribute directly to the funding of research programs and other partners. One essential aspect of achieving the two key objectives mentioned above is to develop these partnerships further.

The concept of the *think tank* has recently become fashionable in France. However, most of these public policy institutions are small, do no research, and are almost always dependent on an identifiable source of political power or lobbying organization. There is nothing wrong with this tendency, but, nevertheless, it indicates a lack of complete independence. Ifri, both due to its history and its ambition, is therefore unique in France. Thanks to our staff and our partners, to whom I would like to extend my gratitude, we are leading the way.

Let me conclude by encouraging readers to consult our web site <www.ifri.org> where they can find detailed information on our activities as well as a list of our publications.

Thierry de Montbrial
President
Member of the Académie
des sciences morales et politiques





Knowledge for Action



France's Pioneer Foreign Policy "think tank"

The French Institute of International Relations is France's main center for independent research and debate concerning international affairs.

Based on the Anglo-Saxon model, Ifri was France's first institution of its kind at the time of its founding in 1979 by Thierry de Montbrial. Today, Ifri belongs to a network of world's most influential international think tanks. Its mission is to bring together actors and analysts to engage in free and probing discussion of major international issues with the goal of

- developing applied research in international public policy
- fostering dialogue and constructive interaction between researchers, opinion leaders, and officials

Thanks to the diversity of its sources of funding, Ifri enjoys a degree of independence that makes it a unique research institution in France. Ifri is not affiliated with any political party or any other administrative or financial body.

Policy-oriented research

Ifri's staff of 34 fellows conducts multi-disciplinary research. Research teams are organized into 8 areas that deal with regional or global issues and evolve according to international events. Thanks to Ifri's links with equivalent institutions around the globe, Ifri researchers are in constant interaction with their international counterparts.

Debate: the advantages of diversity

The institute provides an informal and non-partisan forum for prominent guest-speakers and fosters in-depth discussions that allows its members, researchers and leaders in the private and public sectors to interact.

Since 1979, Ifri has organized 1050 debates, 90 international conferences, and 350 meetings with top French or foreign personalities. It has also welcomed several heads of state, like President Mohammad Khatami of Iran, President Hamed Karzai of Afghanistan, and President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine in 2005.

Publications: providing the tools to understanding world events

Research and debate at Ifri are published in a variety of collections including the oldest French journal of international relations, the quarterly *Politique étrangère*, and the annual journal, RAMSES, which is celebrating its 25th year of publication. With a circulation of 10,000, RAMSES combines a factual and a critical evaluation of each previous year with a prospective analysis of major international trends for the coming years.

The key means of diffusing Ifri studies and debates is now our web site <www.ifri.org>. Our large database includes abstracts of the latest publications and policy papers, as well as transcripts from recent seminars and colloquia. In 2005, Ifri fellows published 9 books and 36 articles online.

Ifri is also very present in both the French and international media, with over 650 articles, interviews and citations in the course of 2005.

A European ambition

In a world where ideas easily cross borders, 2005 stands as the year when Ifri expanded its activities toward a more European-wide dimension. In March 2005, Ifri opened Eur-Ifri in Brussels. Eur-Ifri's mission is to enrich interdisciplinary debate at the European level, together joining the efforts of political

and economic leaders as well as policy-oriented analysts and academics.

Distinguished by its experience and an increasingly international staff, Ifri stands more than ever as the French and European foreign policy institution resolutely turned toward the future.



A woman becomes chancellor of Germany

"The amount of media coverage in France of the German legislative elections in the fall of 2005 was surprising. [...] To conclude, however, that a Franco-German public sphere has emerged, is going perhaps a step too far. First of all, such an assertion cannot be made without a certain amount of distance on the events in question [...]. Furthermore, the differences between the two countries are often underestimated [...] leading to misunderstandings when events in Germany are looked at through French eyes. One cannot stress enough that a 'grand coalition' in Germany cannot be compared with cohabitation *à la française*, nor does it necessarily mean political logjam. Nor can one conclude that the success of the Left Party in Germany and the alliance of its two leaders is comparable to an alliance between the left wing of the Socialist Party and the various far left parties in France."



Claire Demesmay and Hans Stark
in Qui sont les Allemands ?

Europe in crisis

"How the crisis will ultimately end is totally up in the air. It could lead, according to one extreme scenario, to the breakup of the European Union, or, at the other extreme, to jumpstarting a process of consolidation based on more politically solid structures. Between these two extremes, all kinds of possible futures exist, ranging from stagnation to a partial re-launch of the negotiations for the European Constitution project. [...] One thing is perfectly clear: if Europe does not overcome this current crisis with a dynamic project, it will be pushed aside by the forces of history. The world no longer belongs to Europe. Everything that Europe disseminated during the ages of discovery and colonization has undergone a long and painful process of assimilation by the other continents and other cultures. As the 21st century begins, these other continents and cultures have made their full entry upon the world stage."



Philippe Moreau Defarges,
Où va l'Europe ?,
Eyrolles, 2006.

2005: The world according to Ifri

Unpredictable Russia

"Energy rich yet bogged down by inertia, Russia is progressing as its power regresses. This contradictory movement has given rise to some profoundly paradoxical situations: on the one hand, a country that is run by informal processes and which is changing visibly; on the other, a hyper-presidential regime, noted for its extreme unpredictability, which is visibly tightening its grip on the country. At the beginning of his first term in March 2000, the energetic and pragmatic Vladimir Putin appeared committed to steering the country toward modernization by balancing authoritarianism with a reform agenda. One year after winning a second term in March 2004, the increasingly inflexible and out-dated Mr. Putin has disrupted that balance, having abandoned all veneer of reformism. However, though his policy agenda has lost its former clarity, he remains, because of the way power is organized, in full control and capable of decisive action—for better and for worse."



Thomas Gomart
in RAMSES 2006,
September 2005.

The American exception

"The United States is a global power that both dominates all the major registers of power — economic, cultural, and military — and is engaged with all major regional systems in the world. The exceptional status of American 'hyperpower' is nowhere more evident than in the military domain, as reflected by its deployments overseas. Only the United States has the world divided into a series of 'Combatant Commands'. Only the United States has 700 military installations overseas at its disposal. Only the United States is capable of coordinating its considerable military means at such great distances. U.S. military deployments influence regional equilibriums and therefore pertain to more than a mere capacity to

intervene: they concern the very framework of global security as well as U.S. foreign policy. The global repositioning of U.S. forces therefore involves much more than simply their 'footprint'."



Étienne de Durand
in Politique étrangère,
n° 4/2005.

China's Hunger

"In 2025, the increase in Asia's energy needs will represent 40% of the overall growth in world demand. Since 1980 Chinese energy consumption has increased at an average annual rate of 5% with a remarkable acceleration during the last few years. The fundamental question today is whether or not this growth in energy demand—along with all the other natural resources feeding the Chinese economy—will lead to greater cooperation and integration or to a radicalization of the balance of power within the region. [...] The energy issue is becoming [...] a new source of tension for Sino-Japanese relations. [...] The constitution of synergies conducive to energy cooperation, based on material and investment complementarities, is perceived as a means to veil Beijing's attempts at domination."



Valérie Niquet
in Politique étrangère,
n° 4/2005.

North-South: the cultural divide

"Today, the primary conflict stems from a growing divide between the northern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean, a 'rupture' based not on political or economic differences but on cultural ones, leading to the establishment of an 'Us' and 'Them' mentality in which mutual fear determines what is Other and incapable of integration, an Other demonized at will in order to avoid mutual association and consideration."



Khadija Mohsen-Finan,
in Paix et guerres entre les cultures. Entre Europe et Méditerranée, Actes Sud, 2005.

Islam/Secular Society: A False Debate

"If the debate about secularism in France since 2003 has crystallized around the idea that Islam poses a 'problem,' Islam is, in

fact, more the object of this crisis than its cause. The so-called 'problem of Islam' relative to secular society today, is no longer simply a matter of accommodating religious pluralism with the principles of the liberal state. It is more a question of the crisis of national identity at a time when the concept of national sovereignty is being refashioned by the European project. In short, Europe has destabilized the previous reference points of identity."



Christophe Bertossi,
Confluences Méditerranée,
June 2006.

Rethinking war

"The last two centuries saw the birth and universal dissemination, through exercise of power and foreign interventions, of a form of violence that has become paradigmatic: war between states, as practiced by Napoleon, theorized by Clausewitz and brought to its greatest paroxysm during the 20th century by two world wars. [...] This paradigm, with its quasi-universal concepts, its similar military structures, its law exerting an important influence on the organization and execution of operations, has permitted the successful thinking through of the essential forms of international violence [...]. The notion that the majority of conflicts could be understood in light of a single model has crumbled before our eyes in the last 15 years."

Dominique David



in La Violence et ses causes: où en sommes-nous?,
Unesco, 2005.

The Conflicts of Future

"More than ever, war reveals itself to be a complex phenomenon, even if it remains, at heart, the violent confrontation of wills that continually seeks to reinvent and reconfigure certain familiar elements or exploit some of their previously underestimated features.[...] One of the keys to the equations governing conflict today (one which allows for better comprehension and anticipation of the logic of conflict) is the notion of fluidity, defined as 'a capacity for rapid and permanent transformation.' Fluidity has always been a characteristic of conflict but it has rendered certain today conflicts startling; hence the illusion of chaos, of the passage from a world marked by the simple East-West divide to a new 'Middle

Ages' of violence. This fluidity will be more and more central to the conflicts of the future."



Aline Lebœuf
in Politique étrangère,
n° 3/2005.

NATO's uncertain Future

"The American refusal to use NATO as an instrument of defense [...] can be explained by a change of approach that is not only a matter of present circumstances but also fundamental and profound. Traumatized by the violation of its soil and persuaded of its military superiority, Americans judged that they were in position to respond to the attacks without needing to justify their actions to their European allies. However [...] it was not simply the reaction of a bruised power. The difficulties of multilateral intervention revealed in Kosovo drove the Americans to bypass the Atlantic forum. American strategic thinking about how to respond to new threats had been evolving since 1999. Shortly after 9/11, Donald Rumsfeld made his vision of alliances clear. [...] 'The mission determines the coalition rather than the coalition determining the mission.' Henceforth, the United States would construct ad hoc alliances, ones that could adapt easily to the missions determined."



Guillaume Parmentier *in*
Annuaire français de relations
internationales, 2005.

The world economy in search of governance

"The world economy at the beginning of the 21st century presents markedly different traits than during the previous century. The integration of the former Soviet bloc nations and the rising powers of India and China into the western capitalist system have engendered global imbalances in terms of the supply and demand for labor resulting in major tensions in all the countries of the world. Technological progress changes both the division of labor and the organization of production. The growth of trade and wealth coexists with the persistence of poverty, rising inequalities, continuing weaknesses in social development as well as the relocation of work affecting countries in the North and the South. The concomitant emergence of new economic conditions

and worldwide social struggle has called into question the mechanisms of international regulation that were created after the Second World War. The new global economy requires a complete overhaul of existing structures of governance."



Françoise Nicolas
et Jean-Marie
Paugam
in RAMSES 2006,
September 2005.

Europe less attractive for R&D

"Europe seems to be in a difficult position when it comes to coping with increasingly international R&D. This trend [...] translates into the creation of global networks of innovation in which corporate R&D has become more and more mobile. Multinationals no longer centralize their R&D in their home countries and manage the units of their foreign R&D according to the characteristics of local markets and the availability of local scientific and technological expertise. Thus, China has been able to attract 700 R&D centers, the majority of which are linked to the development of multinationals' production. India has attracted activities that contribute to the overall innovation process for companies like Intel, General Electric and Alcatel. This has also been the case for a small country like Israel [...]. The United States is particularly attractive for R&D because it combines a dynamic market with exceptional scientific and technological resources."



Frédérique Sachwald
in Politique étrangère,
n° 4/2006.

Democratic breakthroughs in the Middle East?

"Democracy is the fruit of a long period of acquisition. Middle Eastern societies remain, for the most part, structured along traditional even feudal lines. However, those societies are in the process of changing and, in some cases, are in full effervescence. Imposing a Western democratic model is a risky undertaking. Egypt, and even more obviously, Saudi Arabia are not post-war Germany or Japan. Democracy, in the larger sense of the term, meaning the possibility to pick one's government and to speak freely, can only take root and develop with the support of receptive social and cultural structures. There are a few fragile glimmers of hope; they must be preserved. However, building a stable, prosperous, and peaceful Middle East remains a long and painful process."



Denis Bauchard
in RAMSES 2006,
September 2005.

Guerillas and jihadists

"The notion that there are certain similarities between guerillas and jihadists in terms of strategy can be grounded in the nature of their adversaries. [...] A common feature of their strategic bearings consists in the awareness of their relative weakness [...] The awareness of a fundamental asymmetry of power forces both guerillas and jihadists to pursue tactical innovation in order to avoid premature defeat. While, in the short term, tactical and operational innovation allows guerillas and jihadists to eschew defeat and to carry out periodic attacks against their adversaries, both kinds of fighters are well aware of the fact that such a strategy cannot assure victory in the long term. To achieve this, they must obtain the support of the masses. [...] To rally the people behind them, they must do all they can to show that the cause they defend is a just one, and, in contrast, that the adversary they are fighting is fundamentally corrupt."



Marc Hecker,
Politique étrangère,
n° 2/2006.

Wrestling with Iran

"In theory, the first step toward resolving the crisis would be real detente between the United States and Iran, in the image of

the process of détente that occurred between the United States and the Soviet Union. Year after year, we are brought to the same conclusion. For this to happen, the United States would have to renounce the idea of overthrowing the regime of the mullahs. In any case, this regime is bound to change and eventually disappear. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic would have to end its ambiguity relative to Israel. Once this is done, other concessions can follow. Iran would like to join the World Trade Organization for example. Paradoxically, the current regime does not appear strong enough to make major decisions. [...] What is certain is that the nuclear question cannot be solved as long as it is not situated within a larger context."



Thierry de Montbrial
in RAMSES 2006,
September 2005.

The new axis of oil

"While Washington is preoccupied with curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, avoiding policy failure in Iraq and cheering the 'forward march of freedom,' the political consequences of recent structural shifts in global energy markets are posing the most profound challenge to American hegemony since the end of the Cold War. [...] While each of these developments is a challenge to U.S. interests, the various threads of petropolitics are now coming together in an emerging 'axis of oil' that is acting as a counterweight to American hegemony on a widening range of issues. At the center of this undeclared but increasingly assertive axis is a growing geopolitical partnership between Russia (a major energy producer) and China (the paradigmatic rising consumer)."



Flynt Everett and Pierre Noël,
The National Interest,
2006.

In 2005, Ifri was notably host to:



Mohammed Ismaïl Alshekh,
Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Paris
Édouard Balladur,
former Prime Minister, Chairman of the
Foreign Affairs Committee of the
National Assembly (France)
Frank Belfrage,
Ambassador of Sweden to Paris
Jean Bizet,
member of the French Senate
Jean-Louis Bourlanges,
member of the European Parliament

Lakhdar Brahimi,
Special Adviser to the Secretary-General
of the United Nations
Dominique Bussereau,
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries



Hervé de Charette,
former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vice-
Chairman of the Foreign Affairs
committee of the National Assembly
(France)

Robert Cooper,
Director General for External and
Political Affairs, CFSP Council of the
European Union

Daniel Cohn-Bendit,
member of the European Parliament

Kemal Dervis,
former Minister of Economy of Turkey,
UNDP Administrator designate

Alexander Downer,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia

Gareth Evans,
President, International Crisis Group



Benita Ferrero-Waldner,
member of the European Commission in
charge of External relations and
European Neighbourhood policy

Gianfranco Fini,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italia

Jean-François Poncet,
former Minister of Foreign affairs,
Senator, France

Karl-Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg,
member of the Bundestag



Valéry Giscard d'Estaing,
former President of the French Republic

Anatoly Grystenko,
Minister of Defense of Ukraine

Jean-Marie Guéhenno,
U.N. Under Secretary-General for
Peacekeeping Operations



1 - Mohammed Khatami, President of the
Islamic Republic of Iran
2 - Craig Stapleton, Ambassador of the
United States to Paris

3 - Jean-Claude Trichet, Governor of the
European Central Bank
4 - Traian Basescu, President of Roumania

5 - Jiri Paroubek, Prime Minister of the Czech
Republic



Élisabeth Guigou,
former Minister, member of the French
National Assembly

Tarja Halonen,
President of Finland



Pascal Lamy,
Director General designated of the WTO

Christine Lagarde,
Delegate Minister for Trade, France

Jo Leinen,
member of the European Parliament

Jean-David Levitte,
Ambassador of France to Washington

Reinhard Lyhs,
Chairman and CEO, DaimlerChrysler

Pierre Méhaignerie,
former Minister of Agriculture, Chairman
of the French Senate Finances and
Economy Committee

Ilinka Mitreva,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia



Miguel Angel Moratinos,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

Klaus Neubert,
Ambassador of Germany to Paris

Tassos Papadopoulos,
President of the Republic of Cyprus

Loyola De Palacio,
former Minister of Agriculture of Spain,
former member of the European
Commission

Jerzy Plewa,
former Vice-Minister of Agriculture of
Poland

Jérôme Rivière,
member of the French National
Assembly

Dimitrij Rupel,
Chairman of OSCE and Minister of
Foreign Affairs of Slovenia

Wolfgang Schäuble,
member of the Bundestag

Christian Schmidt,
member of the Bundestag

Andreas Schockenhoff,
member of the Bundestag

Piotr Switalski,
Under State-Secretary for Foreign Affairs
of Poland

Boris Tadic,
President of Serbia

Magdalena Vasaryova,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
Slovakia

Hubert Védrine,
former Minister of Foreign Affairs
of France



Serge Vinçon,
Chairman of the French Senate
Committee of Foreign Affairs, Defense
and Armed Forces

Miodrag Vlahovic,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro



6 - President of Ukraine

7 - Thierry de Montbrial and Alexei Mordachov,
President and CEO of the Severstal Group

8 - Thierry de Montbrial and Hamid Karzai,
President of the Islamic Republic of
Afghanistan

9 - Hans Blix, former Executive Chairman of
UNSCOM, Chairman of the Weapons of
Mass Destruction Commission

10 - Richard J. Durbin, U.S. Senator (Illinois)

11 - Mario Monti, former member of the
European Commission, Milan University

Ifri and its partners



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For its individual and institutional members, Ifri provides a vast program of debates, conferences, seminars, and meetings that allow members to better understand major international events and issues and to meet actors that shape our world. The regular participation and interaction of our members creates a dynamic that is essential to the life of Ifri.

In addition, Ifri has a special program for corporate members senior executives which addresses companies' concerns, and provides guidance for their overseas strategies. The corporate program is featuring breakfasts, lunch and dinner debates as well as seminars with research fellows and major actors on the international stage. Since its launching in 1979, Ifri has cultivated numerous synergies with its corporate partners. This partnership has once again proven fruitful with the opening of Eur-Ifri in Brussels in 2005. Ifri expresses its gratitude to its longtime partners and warmly welcomes those companies that have joined in the course of 2005.



Ifri would also like to thank the French and international foundations and institutions that provided support during 2005.

The new Director of Development, responsible for overseeing relations with Ifri members, is Brynhild Dumas who succeeded Corinne Degoutte in April 2006.



Special Corporate Partners Program

Dinner and Lunch Discussions

Chairperson: Thierry de Montbrial

January 12

with *Valéry Giscard d'Estaing*, former President of the French Republic

February 28

with *Lakhdar Brahimi*, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General

March 29

with *Jean-David Lévitte*, Ambassador of France to Washington

April 4

with *Mohamed Khatami*, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

May 9

with *Miguel Angel Moratinos*, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

June 21

with *Mohammed Ismaïl Alshekh*, Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Paris

July 1st

with *Pascal Lamy*, Director-General of the WTO

September 14

with *Alexei Mordashov*, President and CEO, Severstal Group

October 4

with *Craig Stapleton*, Ambassador of the United States to Paris

October 17

with *Jiri Paroubek*, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic

October 21

with *Jean-Claude Trichet*, Governor of the European Central Bank

November 3

with *Tassos Papadopoulos*, President of the Cyprus Republic

December 8

with *Benita Ferrero-Waldner*, European Commissioner in charge of External Relations



Working Lunches with Ifri research fellows

Chairperson: Thierry de Montbrial

April 19

"France 30 years ahead: Which Conflicts? Which insecurity?"

with *Dominique David*

May 10

"The European Constitution: An Inescapable Debate for Europe"

with *Pierre Defraigne*, Director, Eur-Ifri, and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*

June 8

"Oil at Fifty Euros: Economy and Geopolitics"

with *Pierre Noël*

October 11

"Middle-East: A Threat for Europe?"

with *Denis Bauchard*

November 8

"Region Building or Fragmentation? The China-Japan Relations Case"

with *Valérie Niquet* and *Françoise Nicolas*



Corporate members as at December 31, 2005

Ifri's corporate members number about one hundred. Company executives are offered various opportunities to participate in meetings and workshops addressing their concerns and providing them with insights relevant to their international strategy.

A

ABN-AMRO FRANCE
ACCOR
AGENCE FRANÇAISE DE DEVELOPPEMENT
AIR FRANCE
AIR LIQUIDE
AMERICAN EXPRESS
ARCELOR
AREVA
ARIANESPACE
AXA

B

BANQUE DE FRANCE
BANQUE FEDERALE DES
BANQUES POPULAIRES
BARCLAYS BANK
BASF FRANCE
BC PARTNERS
BEARINGPOINT
BESV
BOUYGUES
BURELLE S.A.

C

CABINET GIDE LOYRETTE NOUËL
CAISSE DES DEPOTS ET CONSIGNATIONS
CAIXABANK
CARGILL
CARREFOUR
CHAMPAGNE CEREALES
CHARBONNAGES DE FRANCE
CILAS
CITIGROUP
COFACE
COLAS
COMMISSARIAT A L'ENERGIE ATOMIQUE
COOP DE FRANCE
CREDIT AGRICOLE S.A.
CREDIT FONCIER DE FRANCE
CREDIT MUTUEL
CREDIT SUISSE GROUP

D

DAIMLERCHRYSLER
DASSAULT AVIATION
DEUTSCHE BANK
DEXIA - CREDIT LOCAL DE FRANCE
DEXIA ASSET MANAGEMENT

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EADS
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ELECTRICITE DE FRANCE
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F

FEDERATION FRANÇAISE DES
SOCIETES D'ASSURANCES
FEDERATION NATIONALE
DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS
FEDERATION NATIONALE GROUPAMA
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GAZ DE FRANCE
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INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DU PETROLE
INVIVO

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JEANTET & ASSOCIES
JP MORGAN CHASE BANK

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LA MONDIALE
LA POSTE
LABORATOIRES SERVIER
LAFARGE
LAZARD FRERES
LES ECHOS
L'OREAL
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MAZARS
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MONITOR COMPANY

MOODY'S FRANCE
MORGAN STANLEY

N

NAPLES INVESTISSEMENT
NATEXIS BANQUES POPULAIRES
NOKIA

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PERNOD RICARD
PSA PEUGEOT CITROËN

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RENAULT
ROLAND BERGER & PARTNERS
ROTHSCHILD & CIE BANQUE
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SAGEM COMMUNICATION
SANOFI-AVENTIS
SOCIETE DU LOUVRE
SOCIETE GENERALE
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SOFINNOVA PARTNERS
SOFIPROTEOL
SOFRESA
SUEZ

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UNIGRAINS
UNION DES INDUSTRIES
METALLURGiques ET MINIERES
UNISTRAT COFACE

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VALLOUREC
VIEL & CIE

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WENDEL INVESTISSEMENT

In 2005, the following companies and institutions have supported research programs or selective projects.

ARIANESPACE, BNP PARIBAS, CONFEDERATION GENERALE DES PLANTEURS DE BETTERAVES, CITIGROUP, CEA, CREDIT AGRICOLE, EADS, FEDERATION DES PRODUCTEURS D'OLEAGINEUX ET DE PROTEAGINEUX, FEDERATION NATIONALE GROUPAMA, GROUPE SOLOGNE, INVIVO, LAFARGE, RENAULT, SODEXHO ALLIANCE, SUEZ, UNIGRAINS – THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION, THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES, THE ROBERT BOSCH STIFTUNG, THE FONDATION ROBERT SCHUMAN.

Member embassies and institutions as at December 31, 2005

ANDORRA, EMBASSY OF	MALTA, EMBASSY OF
ARGENTINA , EMBASSY OF	MEXICO, EMBASSY OF
AUSTRALIA, EMBASSY OF	MONACO, EMBASSY OF
AUSTRIA, EMBASSY OF	NEDERLANDS EMBASSY, THE ROYAL
AZERBAIJAN, EMBASSY OF	NEW ZEALAND, EMBASSY OF
BELGIUM, EMBASSY OF	NORWEGIAN EMBASSY, THE ROYAL
BRAZIL, EMBASSY OF	POLAND, EMBASSY OF
BULGARIA, EMBASSY OF	POLISH PERMANENT DELEGATION TO THE OECD
CANADA, EMBASSY OF	PORTUGAL, EMBASSY OF
CANADIAN PERMANENT DELEGATION TO THE OECD	QUEBEC, GENERAL DELEGATION OF
CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CEI, RABAT)	ROMANIA, EMBASSY OF
CHINA, EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF	RUSSIAN FEDERATION, EMBASSY OF THE
CROATIA, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF	SAUDI ARABIA, EMBASSY OF
CYPRUS, EMBASSY OF	SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO, EMBASSY OF
CZECH REPUBLIC, EMBASSY OF THE	SINGAPORE, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
DENMARK, EMBASSY OF	SLOVAK REPUBLIC, EMBASSY OF THE
EGYPT, EMBASSY OF	SLOVENIA, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
ESTONIA, EMBASSY OF	SOUTH AFRICA, EMBASSY OF
EU INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES	SPAIN, EMBASSY OF
FINLAND, EMBASSY OF	SWEDEN, EMBASSY OF
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, EMBASSY OF THE	SWEDISH PERMANENT DELEGATION TO THE OECD
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, EMBASSY OF THE	SWITZERLAND, EMBASSY OF
GREECE, EMBASSY OF	TAIPEI REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE
INDIA, EMBASSY OF	TRANSLATION CENTRE OF THE FRENCH MINISTRY OF ECONOMY, FINANCES, AND INDUSTRY
IRAN, EMBASSY OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF	TUNISIA, EMBASSY OF
IRELAND, EMBASSY OF	TURKEY, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
ISRAEL, EMBASSY OF	UNITED STATES, EMBASSY OF THE
ITALY, EMBASSY OF	UZBEKISTAN, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
JAPAN, EMBASSY OF	VIETNAM, EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF
JAPAN EXTERNAL TRADE ORGANIZATION, JETRO	
JAPAN PERMANENT DELEGATION TO THE OECD	
KOREA, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF	
KUWAIT, EMBASSY OF	
LATVIA, EMBASSY OF	
LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES, PARIS OFFICE	
LITHUANIA, EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF	
LUXEMBOURG, EMBASSY OF	

Annual report 2005

Research

Regional Programs

Europe

- The research center on Franco-German Relations, Cerfa
- The Franco-Austrian Center for Convergence in Europe CFA
- Eur-Ifri

The French Center on the United States, CFE
Russia/NIS

The Centre Asie Ifri

North Africa/Middle East

Transversal Programs

Security

World Economy

The Trade Policy and Globalization

Governance Program

The Agriculture Program

The Energy and International Relations Program

The Transatlantic Program

The Migration, Identity and Citizenship Program

REGIONAL PROGRAMS

Europe

Research Center on Franco-German Relations (Cerfa)

Cerfa's mission is to contribute to a greater mutual understanding of political and socioeconomic policy in France and Germany. The center is administered jointly by Ifri and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP). Funding for Cerfa is provided by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Auswärtige Amt on an equal basis. Cerfa is one of the main centers of research and debate on Franco-German relations in France.

Researchers

Hans Stark, Secretary-General (German domestic and foreign policy, Franco-German relations, European integration)

Claire Demesmay (contemporary German political culture, Franco-German relations, identity and citizenship in Europe)

Janine Ziegler, Research Assistant

Emmanuelle Saunier, Research Assistant

Traditionally, research at Cerfa, in keeping with its mission to promote greater mutual understanding between France and Germany, has been conducted according to three themes: contemporary German domestic and foreign policy, Franco-German relations, and European integration. In 2005, current events determined two main topics of research:

France, Germany, and the European Constitution

Cerfa seeks to foster dialogue on matters of common interest and to identify the points of convergence and divergence between the two nations. The French rejection of the European Constitution in 2005 provided a special context within which to analyze bilateral relations and the question of European integration.

Cerfa's research focused on comparative visions of Europe and an analysis of the role of the Franco-German couple after the failure of the referendum in France. These studies were published in a collection of regular papers, "Franco-German Visions" (available on <www.ifri.org>). Two conferences were organized around the same issues: one with *Daniel Cohn-Bendit* (May 18) and the other devoted to the role of civil society in the rapprochement between the two countries after the French "no" (June 14).

In addition, in January 2005, Cerfa organized its annual conference focusing on the major issues of 2004 affecting Germany and France from a European perspective and likely to influence 2005: EU integration, transatlantic relations, bilateral industrial cooperation, and reconciliation 60 years after D-Day. Another essential subject was the future of the European budget, which led to the publication of a book as part of Cerfa's "France, Germany, Europe" collection. A conference on the European budget was also held in February.

A new German government

The September 18 legislative election in Germany raised a considerable number of questions. In the absence of a Bundestag majority for either of the traditional coalitions (CDU/CSU-FDP and SPD-Greens), the composition of the eventual governing coalition as well as the name of the future chancellor remained unknown until the conclusion of long negotiations

between the different parties. Through a series of publications and public gatherings, Cerfa tried to add some clarity to the unfolding situation.

Its first contribution was an assessment of the Schroeder government. Several editions of "Notes du Cerfa" were dedicated to analyzing the major actions of the "red-green" government, particularly with regards to the labor market, immigration, and Russo-German relations.

Several conferences were then devoted to the policies of the grand coalition, focusing on the formation of the government (27 September), the German economy (27 October), and German foreign policy (21 November) as well as the future orientation of foreign and security policy (15-16 November). The new coalition was also one of the major subjects of the 2006 annual Cerfa conference held on 30 January 2006, *"Towards a European Public Sphere? Franco-German perspectives on the first 100 days of the Merkel government."*

Finally, in order to cast some light on the background of German domestic politics, Cerfa published one work dealing with the mechanisms of power in the FRG (*Qui dirige l'Allemagne?*, January 2005) and another on German political and cultural identity (*Qui sont les Allemands?*, January 2006). German politics was also featured in several editions of its electronic publication, ("Note du Cerfa").

Conferences and Debates

January 24

50 Years of Franco-German Relations-50 Years of Cerfa – Assessment and Future Perspectives
Cerfa's annual conference—organized with the support of the French and German ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Robert Schuman and Robert Bosch Foundations—was devoted to a celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Saint-Cloud Accords. It was also the occasion to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Cerfa's creation. Key figures in Franco-German reconciliation over the years, political and economic leaders, and researchers assessed the process of cooperation between the two nations and considered the new role for the Franco-German couple in the context of the major evolutions in Europe and around the world.



Seminars

September 12-13

Citizenship and the Challenges of Diversity
Organized in conjunction with the Federal Center for Civic Education (BpB)

The current EU crisis as well as the parallel problems of integration in several European countries call into question the notion of citizenship throughout Europe. The goal of this Franco-German seminar was to compare concepts and practices of integration in France, Germany, and other European states, to consider new forms of civic education, and to propose new initiatives.

November 15-16

Franco-German Strategic Forum

Organized in conjunction with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Strategic Affairs Delegation of the French Ministry of Defense, this closed seminar was the opportunity to compare views concerning NATO, the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), and the economic and financial stakes involved in defense policy, as well as their impact on Franco-German relations. Key French and German government officials as well as members of both Parliaments attended.

Breakfast Conferences

February 24

France, Germany and the Future of the European Budget

Friedrich Heinemann, researcher at the Center for European Economic Research in Mannheim, Head of the European integration working group and *Maxime Lefebvre*, former Head of European Affairs at Ifri.

Chairperson: *Claire Demesmay*

April 7

Germany's Future Elites

Michael Kretschmer, member of the Bundestag (CDU) and member of the Committee on Education, Research, and Technology.

Chairperson: *Claire Demesmay*

May 12

The Future of the New Länder in an Enlarged Europe

Stanislaw Tillich, Minister of Agriculture and the Environment of the state of Saxony, and *Michel-Eric Dufeil*, Head of Unit at the Regional Policy Directorate, European Commission.

Chairperson: *Claire Demesmay*

May 18

French and German Visions of Europe

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, member of the European Parliament (Greens) and co-President of the European Greens.

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*

June 14

The Franco-German Couple after the Referendum: the Role of Civil Society

Max Claudet, Secretary-General of the Franco-German Youth Office (OFAJ), *Jérôme Clément*, President of ARTE France, *Claire Demesmay*, research fellow at Cerfa, and *Till Meyer*, director of the German Cultural Center in Dijon

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*

September 27

After the German Legislative Elections: Who will Govern Germany?

Debate organized in partnership with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

With *Wolfgang Bönnsen*, member of the Bundestag (CDU), *Michael Roth*, member of the Bundestag (SPD), *Ulrich Eith*, Freiburg University, *Andreas Kießling*, University of Munich, and *Sylvie Goulard*, Institut d'études politiques (IEP-Paris).

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*

October 27

Economic Prospects after the German Elections

With *René Lasserre*, director of the Center for Research and Information on Contemporary Germany (CIRAC), professor at the University of Cergy-Pontoise, and *Isabelle Bourgeois*, Editor-in-Chief of *Regards sur l'économie allemande*.

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*

November 21

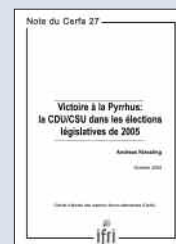
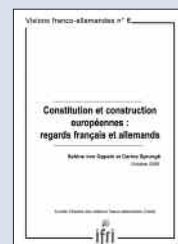
Foreign Policy after the German Elections

With *Christian Hacke*, professor at the University of Bonn and *Georges-Henri Soutou*, professor at the University of Paris-IV.

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*

« Vision franco-allemandes »

« Note du Cerfa »



« Radioscopies de l'Allemagne »

« Qui dirige l'Allemagne ? »



Europe

The Franco-Austrian Center for Convergence in Europe (CFA)

The Franco-Austrian Center is an intergovernmental organization created in 1978 by then Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and then Federal chancellor Bruno Kreisky, in order to foster economic cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe. It was initially comprised of Austria, France and the eastern bloc nations of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the center's mission shifted to providing information for EU candidate countries in order to facilitate their integration into the Union. Since the 2004 enlargement, the CFA has been developing links with the Western Balkans.

Staff

The CFA is based in Vienna. *Thierry de Montbrial* serves as Chairman of the Center; its Secretary-General is Ambassador *Peter Jankowitsch*. At Ifri, *Éliane Mossé* organizes the center's activities with the assistance of *Martine Breux*.

The CFA provides opportunities for representatives from the political, economic, and financial sectors in old, new, and aspiring member states to meet and discuss issues of common concern, such as budgetary, monetary, agricultural, security, and healthcare issues as well as the question of the evolution of EU institutions. CFA conferences and seminars take place in Paris and in each of the member states.

In 2005, the CFA continued its work toward facilitating the ongoing economic convergence between old and new member states. It sponsored a conference in Budapest on "The Management of Rural Space in an Enlarged Europe". It also held a bilateral conference in Salzburg that examined the social welfare models in France and Austria. In Paris, the CFA organized three round tables: one on "The Consequences of the Energy Crisis on New EU Members, one on "The Goals of the Austrian EU Presidency," and one on "The Aftermath of the Polish Elections."

The EU 2004 enlargement has provided a new focus for the CFA: the question of relations between the enlarged EU and its "new neighbors". In 2005, the CFA held a series of meetings exploring this subject.

Orientation for 2006

In 2006 CFA focuses on the following developments:

- The economic and geopolitical evolution of the Balkans region. 2006 stands to be a turning point in the history of the Balkans with the revision of the status of Kosovo, the opening of negotiations toward Macedonian membership to the EU, the referendum on independence in Montenegro, etc.;
- European Competitiveness (review of the first results of the "Lisbon strategy");
- Future of Enlargement of the EU to include Romania and Bulgaria and relations with new neighboring states.

Round Tables and Seminars

March 4

Ukraine, between Russia and an Enlarged EU

Round table with *Yuriy Sergeyev*, Ukrainian Ambassador to France, *Anne de Tinguy*, researcher at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS)/ Center for the Study of International Relations (CERI), *Vasily Astrov*, economist at the Institute for International Economics (WIIW) Vienna.

Chairperson: Peter Jankowitsch

June 13

Oil at \$ 50 a Barrel... What Next?

Seminar with *Emmanuel Bergasse*, the administrator for central and southeastern Europe at the International Energy Agency (IEA), *Catherine Locatelli*, researcher, CNRS, University of Grenoble, and *Pierre Noël*, researcher at Ifri, French Center on the United States (CFE).

Chairperson: Peter Jankowitsch

December 1

The EU on the Eve of the Austrian Presidency

Round Table discussion with *Elisabeth Tichy-Fisslberger*, adjunct Director General, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Jacques Rupnik*, research director, CERI/FNSP, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, researcher at Ifri and co-director of RAMSES.

Chairperson: Peter Jankowitsch

International Conferences

April 18-19

Rural Development Alternatives in an Enlarged Europe, Budapest, Hungary

Organized in close partnership with the Austrian EcoSocial Forum, the Austrian, French, and Hungarian Ministries of Agriculture, and the National Institute of Agronomic Research (INRA), this conference brought together representatives from the new member states and candidate states in order to discuss the Common Agricultural Policy and the prospects for European-wide sustainable rural development.

July 4-5

The Western Balkans: a New Challenge for the EU, Opatija, Croatia

Ten years after the Dayton Accords, the western Balkans region has regained a relative stability. This conference, attended by representatives of civil society throughout the region, provided the opportunity to evaluate regional initiatives and explore the possibilities for greater cooperation with the EU.

October 10

Franco-Austrian conference, Salzburg, Austria

This first Franco-Austria day, organized with the support of the state of Salzburg, was devoted to reflection on how, within the context of a Europe faced with a widening set of challenges, to achieve greater economic, social, technological, cultural, and political cooperation between Austria and France.

Europe

Eur-Ifri

Established in March 2005 as the Brussels-based branch of Ifri, Eur-Ifri's mission is to contribute to the diversity of debate in the nerve center of the European community and to promote French conceptions of further EU construction. Its aim is also to keep French civil society abreast of EU issues and its decision making mechanisms. Eur-Ifri will carry out its own research and debates program drawing on Ifri's resources and interdisciplinary expertise as well as other research centers in Europe.

Eur-Ifri established a weekly series of meetings known as "Eur-Ifri's Tuesdays" which bring together EU officials, academics, experts, corporate leaders, trade-unions representatives and journalists to discuss a variety of European themes. In addition, Eur-Ifri sponsored two international conferences and numerous debates.

Staff

Pierre Defraigne, Director

Sophie Lenoble, Research Assistant

Chloé Debay-Cornish, Assistant

International Conferences

June 17

Enlargement and Globalization: Impact on the Location and Competitiveness of Firms in Europe

A conference organized in close conjunction with the "World Economy Program" at Ifri.

July 4

The EU, China, and the Search for a Multilateral World

A conference organized with the Centre Asie Ifri in celebration of the 30 years of relations between China and the EU.

Debates

See Public discussion meetings

The French Center on the United States (CFE)

The French Center on the United States (CFE) was created in September 1999, simultaneously with the launching of the Center for the U.S. and France (that later became the Center for the U.S. and Europe) at the Brookings Institution in Washington. The CFE is dedicated to promoting the understanding of the political system and public policy of the United States and thereby to better understanding between France and the United States.

The CFE focuses on analyzing the impact of political, economic, and social developments within the United States as well as the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, with a particular interest on transatlantic and Franco-American relations.

The CFE regularly organizes meetings that bring together public and private sector decision-makers and publishes policy papers and books.

Guillaume Parmentier is the Director of the CFE. The annual CFE conference is an occasion for distinguished French and American speakers to share insights into the evolution of policy both within the U.S. and around the world.

The German Marshall Fund of the United States supports the CFE.

Staff

Guillaume Parmentier, Director

Laurence Nardon, Researcher (space issues)

Pierre Noël, Researcher (energy issues, climate changes)

François Vergniolle de Chantal, Associate Researcher (U.S. domestic policy)

Maité Jauréguy, Visiting Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies /CSIS, (U.S. scientific policy)

Nicolas de Boisgrollier, Visiting Fellow, the Brookings Institution (politico-administrative issues)

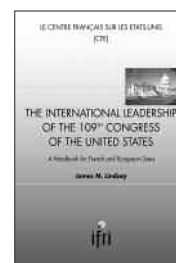
Ruth Lambertz, Research Assistant

Domestic Policy and Decision-Making

Guillaume Parmentier, *François Vergniolle de Chantal*.

One of the CFE's main priorities is to provide the keys to understanding the complex modes of decision-making in the United States. The center publishes a guide to the U.S. Congress that highlights the members and *staffers* who have a particular influence on international affairs. *James Lindsay* of the Council on Foreign Relations compiles this guide. The 2005 edition, presenting the 109th Congress is available to all CFE partners.

In 2005, the CFE focused on the future of the Democratic Party in light of the 2004 presidential election.



Foreign Policy and Security Policy

Guillaume Parmentier, *Ruth Lambertz*.

This program's focus was on transatlantic relations, including the publication of "*The End of the Transatlantic Partnership?*"

Nicolas de Boisgrollier, in *T. de Montbrial* and *P. Moreau Defarges*, RAMSES 2006, Paris, Dunod, 2005.

Energy and Climate Change

Pierre Noël, *David Reiner*, Judge Institute of Management, Cambridge University.

This program seeks to develop expertise relative to the international debate concerning energy policy and climate change, with a particular emphasis on the energy security policy of the United States. The program's research will be the subject of an upcoming publication by *Pierre Noël* and a study by *David M. Reiner*.

Associated publication: Technology Policy for Energy and Climate Change

Robert C. Marlay and *Burton H. Koske*, CFE Policy Papers Series, November.

Space

Laurence Nardon, Maité Jauréguy.

The United States remains the world's leader in space exploration. The militarization of space has been the object of considerable research in the last few years and George Bush has given a new impetus to NASA's activities.

The Space Program follows the development of U.S. space policy. It aims to facilitate dialogue between American, French, and European projects leaders and experts active in the domain of space innovation in order to promote greater transatlantic cooperation.

(See Publications).

Homeland Security Program

Guillaume Parmentier, Maité Jauréguy, Nicolas de Boisgrollier.

CFE is in the process of establishing a Homeland Security program.

The American concept of "Homeland Security" has no French or European equivalent, despite Europe's long standing field experience in such security issues. Since September 2001, cooperation between France and the United States on this issue has provided an excellent forum for improving mutual understanding between the two nations. For this reason it is essential that French decision-makers in both the public and private sectors follow the evolution of the concept of "homeland security" as reflected in the policies and practices of the Department of Homeland Security.

CFE will focus on the institutional dimensions of the U.S. concept and its bearings for transatlantic relations.

The CFE's work in this domain will be in cooperation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.

Conferences and Debates

Annual CFE Conference

December 8-9

Sixth Annual Conference: The United States in 2005

This conference featured American participants of diverse perspectives in order to better reflect the diversity of opinions that shape American policy. Among the guest speakers were *Richard J. Durbin*, senator from Illinois (D), *Clyde V. Prestowitz*, Economic Strategy Institute, Washington, *Marc E. Leland*, German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), Washington, *David Gompert*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, *Robert Kagan*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, and *Stephen Walt*, Harvard University. French participants included among others *Hubert Védrine*, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, *Benoît d'Aboville*, former Ambassador to NATO, *Antoine Garapon*, Secretary General of the Institut des Hautes Études sur la Justice. Discussion centered on the influence religious and cultural divisions in the U.S. will have on the second Bush term. A second topic was the economic repercussion of the war in Iraq. The conference was made possible with the support of GMF, Citibank, and Sodexho. Additional support came from the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prévision) of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and from the U.S. Embassy in Paris

Domestic Policy and Decision Making

June 16

War on Terror, War on Iraq, and Presidential Power

A seminar organized around the participation of *Louis Fisher*, senior analyst and specialist on the separation of powers at the Congressional Research Service (CRS), Washington. The Bush Administration's "War on Terror" has modified the balance of powers within the institutional framework in the United States since September 2001. This seminar examined the destabilization of system of *checks and balances* that traditionally has been the hallmark of American political institutions.

October 25

The Crisis of the Democratic Party

This seminar analyzed the weakening of the Democratic Party in light of the defeat of John Kerry in the U.S. presidential elections of 2004. Several noted speakers from the United States participated, including *Dan Balz*, the Washington Post, *Stanley Greenberg*, Democracy Corps, *Thomas E. Mann*, the Brookings Institution, *Charles E. Cook*, Cook Political Report, *Will Marshall*, the Progressive Policy Institute, *Walter Oleszek*, Congressional Research Service.

Foreign and Security Policy

April 19

The Crisis in German-American Relations

Round Table discussion with *Stephen F. Szabo*, professor at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The John Hopkins University, Washington, *Guillaume Parmentier*, *Hans Stark*, and CERFA/Ifri.

Ties between the United States and Germany have undergone a transformation since the end of the Cold War as Germany has attempted to forge a new European identity. After a rapprochement in the aftermath of September 11 2001, relations between the two allies have suffered new tensions based on disagreement over war in Iraq and an increasingly skeptical view of the United States on the part of the German public. Speakers focused on the future of relations between Germany and the United States, and made the case for a new relationship based on a more equal footing between the EU and the U.S.

The CFE co-organized two other meetings:

- with the Foundation for Political Innovation (FIP), Paris, on public opinion in the United States
- with the Aspen Institute France, Lyon, on transatlantic relations, "Toward a new balance in U.S.-European relations"

Space Exploration Policy

May 19

Can Space Exploration reinforce the EU Building Process?

organized in conjunction with the European Space Agency (ESA)

In 2005, The CFE joined the ESA in its efforts to determine the political framework for future European space exploration. This one-day seminar focused on the capacity of European space exploration to contribute to the emergence of a sentiment of European citizenship. Among contributors were *Jakub Ryzenko*, Polish Space Office, *Géraldine Naja*, ESA, *Astrid Bonté*, EUTELSAT along with a presentation of the ITER project by Minh Quang Tran, EFDA. *Elisabeth Sourgens*, European Space Policy Institute (ESPI), made the case for a strong and independent European space program.

« Homeland Security »

September 19

Homeland Security, Biosecurity and Transatlantic Cooperation

Breakfast meeting with *David Heyman*, Director of the Homeland Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Big changes have been announced with the Homeland Security Department (HSD). Three years after the creation of the HSD, the most extensive reorganization of the United States government since the creation of the Department of Defense in 1947, the CFE assessed the accomplishments and perspectives of this restructuring.

Russia/NIS Program

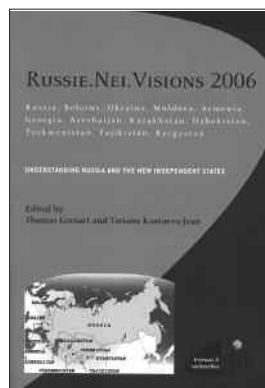
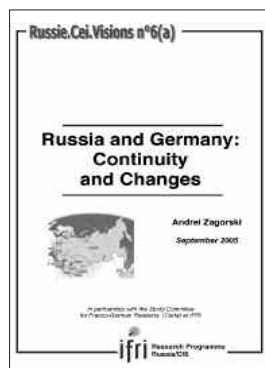
Launched in July 2004, the Russia/NIS Program aims at providing policy-oriented expertise on Russia and the Newly Independent States, anticipating evolutions in and contributing to global debate concerning the region.

Staff

Thomas Gomart, Head of the program

Tatiana Kastueva-Jean,
Research Assistant

Catherine Meniane, Assistant



Russie.Nei.Visions 2006
Understanding Russia and the New Independent States Th. Gomart and T. Kastueva-Jean (dir.).

Research projects

The research program focuses on *four main issues*: tracking the formation of elite in the region, promoting greater mutual understanding the EU and Russia, following the evolution of Russian energy and foreign policies, and monitoring scientific and technological research.

The program produces an electronic collection of *policy papers* — *Russie.Nei.Vision* — that are published in French, English, and Russian.

Elites and Decision-Making Process

This research project aims at improving the understanding of the formation of business, political, and military elites in the countries of the region. Identifying the influence of different groups and the various modes of access to power helps to shed light on decision-making processes. Of particular interest are the ties between military and political elites.

"Strategic Partnership" between the EU and Russia

Despite its key importance for the future of the European continent as well as for trade relations between EU and Russia, the EU-Russia Partnership is currently witnessing a crisis of confidence. The program is devoted to *promoting dialogue* to foster greater mutual understanding between the two parties. A joint *task force* will make concrete recommendations.

Interaction between Russia's Energy and Foreign Policy

Russia's control over oil revenue plays a crucial role in determining the country's political and economic organization as well as in shaping its foreign policy. The Russia/NIS program deals with Russian energy policy and its implications for Russia's neighbors. It also focuses on the use of energy various supplies.

Technological innovation and Scientific Research

Anticipating Russia's economic future requires focusing on the course of its technological innovation. This research program attempts to identify the poles of scientific and technological excellence within Russia that will allow the country to compete internationally.

Seminars

February 2-3

Culture and Security

This seminar, held in Moscow in partnership with the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, (MGIMO-University) and with the support of the NATO *Public Diplomacy Division*, brought together 25 experts from the EU, the United States, and the New Independent States (NIS) to discuss the concept of "strategic culture."

November 30

Russia, Ukraine and the Near Abroad

Debate with *Mark Medish*, former special advisor to President Clinton and former director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs at the White House.

December 2

Workshop on EU/Russian Relations

This first meeting of the task force on EU-Russian relations, chaired by Thierry de Montbrial, provided an occasion for the presentation of four papers:

"Russian, NATO, and the EU: A European Security Triangle or Shades of a New Entente?" by *Andrew Monaghan*;

"Representing Private Interests to Increase Trust in Russia-EU Relations" by *Timofei Bordatchev*

"The EU and Russia: the Needed Balance Between Geopolitics and Regionalism" by *Thomas Gomart*;

"Multiplying Sources as the Best Strategy for EU-Russia Energy Relations" by *Michael Thumann*.

Xavier De Villepin, Louis Gautier, Dov Lynch, Dominique David and *Thierry de Montbrial* discussed the four papers. Working with other groups within the EU and in Russia, this task force seeks to develop policy thinking in relation to the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PAC) which is due to be renewed in 2007.

December 19-20

The 11th Ifri / MGIMO (Moscow) Seminar on Security

This seminar brought together experts from Russia and France to discuss the strategic agendas of both nations in light of the ongoing changes in India, China, the former Soviet Republics, and in transatlantic relations.

Publications

Study

Civil-Military Relations and Military Reform in Russia by *Thomas Gomart*.

Russie.Nei.Visions (online collection of policy papers available also in French and Russian at <www.ifri.org>.) See 'Publications'.

The 10 policy papers published in 2005 have been collected in the work *Russie.Nei.Visions 2006 – Understanding Russia and the New Independent States*, Th. Gomart and T. Kastueva-Jean (eds.), Ifri, Travaux et Recherches, 2006.

North Africa/ Middle East

The North Africa/Middle East unit focuses on the geographic zone extending from Morocco to Iran, as well as on relations between the entire Mediterranean world and the EU in the context of the Barcelona Process. Islam's evolution in the EU and in France, in particular, is a second focus of the unit's research, which, in this light, extends to the issue of the challenges facing immigrant communities from Muslim countries. Studies deal with local and regional issues and are policy-oriented. They consider evolution scenarios.

Staff

Denis Bauchard, former diplomat, Advisor in charge of the unit

Khadija Mohsen-Finan, Researcher (North Africa, immigration, Islam in Europe)

Judith Cahen, Research Assistant (Syria, France's Middle Eastern policy)

Clément Therme, doctoral candidate at the EHESS/CADIS (Iran)

Mohammed El Oifi, Associate Researcher (public opinion and the media in the Arab world)

Dorothee Schmid, Associate Researcher (Mediterranean world)

Jeanne Frey, Assistant

In March 2005, *Rémy Leveau*, a scientific advisor of the unit since 1999, passed away suddenly. His dedication to the work of the unit was instrumental to a variety of initiatives and publications, including *Musulmans de France et d'Europe*, *R. Leveau and Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (eds.) and *Démocraties dans le monde arabe* (to be published).

Program of Research

The units' research and public agenda is determined by the following three priorities:

The evolution and political recomposition of the Arab world and more specifically of the Middle East in the wake of the Iraqi traumatism. In addition to the various scenarios of evolution for Iraq itself, the consequences for Iraq's neighbors — Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia — have been a key subject of research. Other major topics of consideration are Iran's influence in the region and the Palestinian issue.

Reform and democratization in the region: promoting democratic reforms in the region remains a major source of questions and concerns. The unit's research is centered on reforms proposed by the United States and the perception of those proposals within the region. It also considers the question of a possible European contribution to implementing changes. Regular reviews of reform projects adopted are an additional part of the research program.

Islam in the West: this research program focuses on immigrant populations in Europe, France in particular, which share an Islamic culture. The aim is to study how integration into European societies affects religious concepts.

The North Africa/Middle East unit is a member of the Ramses II network as part of the European Commission's 6th Framework Program. It also represents Ifri within the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCO) that brings together 48 foreign policy institutes throughout the Mediterranean basin.

Research projects for 2006

The degradation of the political situation in the Middle East and the continuing threat of terrorism will be closely watched. The emphasis will be put on:

- the process of reform in the Arab world;
- the terrorist threat (see the joint project with the Security unit, "Radical Islam and terrorism: EU perspectives");
- the political, economic, and strategic evolution of five Middle Eastern states: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt;
- the Israeli-Palestinian issue in the aftermath of Israeli and Palestinian elections.

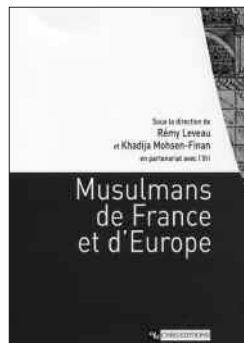
Studies

"Arabic language TV news," by Mohammed El Oifi;

"Relations between Algeria and Morocco," by Khadija Mohsen-Finan (work in progress);

"The role of the media in the construction of collective identity," by Khadija Mohsen-Finan (work in progress);

"Public opinion and the public realm in the Arab world," by Mohammed El Oifi.



Seminars

May 30-31

Democracy: Muslim and Western References (In partnership with the University of Princeton)

Organized by *Denis Bauchard* and *Abdellah Hammoudi*, director of the Institute for the Transregional Study of the Contemporary Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, at the Center of International Studies of the Princeton University, this seminar explored the theme of democracy in the Arab world. Three half days were devoted to a reflection on the secular and religious conceptions of the state in Muslim societies, the relationship between civil society and the state, and the internal and external pressures toward greater openness to democratic reform. The seminar was opened by *Thierry de Montbrial* and by *HH Prince Moulay Hicham Ben Abdallah* of Morocco (Publication in progress).

June 1

The Integration Clauses of Islamism in the North African and Middle Eastern Political Process

(Seminar organized in partnership with the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

The goal of this off-the-record seminar was to explore the opportunities for dialogue with Islamist political movements throughout North Africa and the Middle East. Diplomats and experts also tried to determine possible modes for such dialogue taking into account the diversity of political Islam. Based on qualified experiments, a stimulating and constructive discussion took place.

September 5

Europe and the United States and the Crises of the Middle East

Organized in partnership with EuroMeSco, this conference brought together European, Arab and Israeli analysts to compare the Western powers' policies toward the Middle East. This region of the world has generated an array of crises that concern both the United States and the EU, making their resolution a test of transatlantic relations. (Publication in progress).

10 octobre

Radical Islam

This seminar, organized in partnership with the Ministry of Interior Policy Planning Staff, focused on the possible shifting for some Muslims — very few of them — from a pietistic and ritualistic attitude toward a more radical commitment. Two models of integration have been analyzed: the one proposed by the preachers or institutions close to Anglo-Saxon multiculturalism; and the Salafists' and Tablighis' model advocating the establishment of a sectarian-minded based community.

November 7

Good Governance in the Arab World: the Case of Dubai

Organized in partnership with the Strategic Communications Group in Dubai, this seminar was part of the North Africa/Middle East unit's program of reform in the Arab world. Can the transformation of wealth into growth in Dubai serve as a model for the entire region? Or is Dubai rather a counter model, a purely local experiment? This seminar initiated an in-depth reflection on the advantages and limits of Dubai's transformation and on its possible reproduction throughout the region. It was also the occasion to explore partnership opportunities that might be considered with the Emirate. (Publication in progress).

On-line Policy Papers

Religion and Politics in North Africa: the examples of Tunisia and Morocco, *Franck Fregosi* and *Malika Zeghal*, with an introduction by *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, *Policy Paper* 11, March.

Iran, Iraq, and the United States: towards a new regional axis in the Middle East?, *Rémy Leveau* (ed.), *Policy Paper* 14.

A new collection called “**Current events in North Africa/Middle East**” provides timely analysis of major developments in the region.

The Centre Asie Ifri

The Centre Asie Ifri is committed to providing better understanding of the main political, strategic and economic transformations at work in East Asia and the Indian subcontinent. It is part of a network of academic expertise in Asia, the U.S., and throughout Europe. In association with its partners, the Asia Center regularly sponsors seminars and workshops. Research works are published in *Les cahiers d'Asie*. The Centre Asie Ifri was headed by **François Godement** until April 2005. Since November 2005, its new director has been **Valérie Niquet**.

Staff

Valérie Niquet, Director

Françoise Nicolas, Researcher, senior economist specializing in emerging economies, associate professor at the University of Marne-la-Vallée.

Régine Serra, Associate Researcher, (Japan and security issues in the Asia Pacific), lecturer at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO)

Yang Baoyun, Associate Researcher, adjunct director of the Center for Asian-Pacific Studies, Beijing University

Cécile Campagne, Assistant

In 2005, the emphasis was put on three areas of research:

Regional Integration in East Asia: the Case of South Korea

China's rising power has transformed the political, economic, and strategic landscape in Southeast Asia with repercussions on the drive toward regional integration.

South Korea, the subject of *F. Nicolas'* book, *Korea and the Dual Chinese Challenge* (KIEP, Seoul, 2005), is particularly affected by the modifications in the regional balance of power that have forced a redefinition of its policy toward North Korea and its other neighbors. With the support of the Korea Foundation, *Sophie Boisseau du Rocher* and *Françoise Nicolas* co-directed a research program throughout 2004 and 2005 that brought together a multidisciplinary team of French and Korean researchers and resulted in the colloquium "The Rise of China and Korea's Regional Policy" with a collective work to be published by Routledge in 2006.

EU-ASEAN Economic Relations

Towards a Free Trade Agreement between the EU and ASEAN: a Qualitative Analysis

Given the stalemate on multilateral trade negotiations conducted within the World Trade Organization, regional free trade agreements continue to multiply. The EU has played a key role in this development and has negotiated or is in the process of negotiating several agreements with different regions of the world—the Mediterranean region, Africa, Latin America. Surprisingly, Asia so far has been absent from the list of EU partners. At the same time, many Asian nations, particularly the members of ASEAN, are in the process of negotiating with the United States and Japan. Thus, the opening of free trade talks between the EU and ASEAN appears more and more likely.

At the end of 2005, together with the University of Limerick in Ireland, the Centre Asie Ifri was commissioned by the European Commission's Directorate General Trade to conduct a qualitative analysis of a future free trade agreement between the EU and ASEAN. This project, directed by *F. Nicolas* and *Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan* of the University of Limerick, involves researchers from the University of Chulalongkorn in Bangkok and the National University of Singapore. The findings are scheduled to be published in 2006.

30 years of Sino-EU relations

China and the EU share a series of common strategic preoccupations that require a broadening and reinforcement of the multilateral system. Such issues as climate change, opening markets, and control of weapons of mass destruction fall into this category. China's growing power and the EU's potential as a global power as well provide a clear impetus for promoting multilateralism, but success in that effort will require a strengthening of the bilateral relations.

The 30 years of relations between the EU and China were celebrated by a conference organized by Eur-Ifri and the China Institute of International Studies. French and Chinese personalities and experts — among which *F. Nicolas* — presented a review of Sino-EU relations and thoughts on their future evolution. (See Eur-Ifri).

Publication : *The EU, China and the Quest for a Multilateral World*, (directed by *Pierre Defraigne*).

Debates

Bilateral Dialogues

Franco-Korean Dialogue

The Centre Asie Ifri maintains an ongoing relationship with the Korea Foundation. The two organizations sponsor a conference that alternates between Paris and Seoul every two years and provide an opportunity for French and Korean experts to meet. In 2005, the conference took place in Paris on 27-28 June.

Sino-French Dialogue

The Centre Asie Ifri works regularly with the China Reform Forum, an organization that brings together experts from diverse research institutes in China. During the visit of Prime Minister *Wen Jiabao* to Paris in December 2005, a seminar was organized at Ifri on December 6.

Study Groups

Two study groups met regularly to foster informal discussions on strategic, political, and economic issues. One, led by *François Godement*, focused on current events in China. The second, led by *F. Nicolas*, focused on economic developments in Asia.

Two on-line publications became available during the first semester of 2005:

Les Nouvelles de Chine

A monthly review of the analyses and points of view from the Chinese press under the direction of *Michal Meidan* and *François Godement*.

La Lettre du Japon

Bi-monthly publication edited by *Guibourg Delamotte* providing an analysis of events and debates in Japan.

Research projects for 2006

China's rise as a major power and its integration into the international community is a pivotal element of research programs at the Centre Asie Ifri. China's 25-year strategy of "Pacific rise," i.e. economic reform resulting in rapid growth and the globalization of China's interests, has aroused much questioning among observers worldwide. Research at the Centre Asie Ifri will focus on:

- the future evolution of Chinese power
- energy issues and the role of major Asian powers
- the regional architecture and the emergence of a multipolar Asia (China, India Japan)

In addition to a bi-monthly newsletter tracking the development of events in Asia, the Centre Asie Ifri plans on launching a quarterly newsletter devoted to military issues in China.

Study Groups meetings

Discussion group on Chinese current events

January 13

Challenges and Threats in Central Asia in the Post-September 11 Context

with *Ilias Sarsembaev*, Research Assistant to the chair of Russian history at People's Friendship University in Moscow, doctoral candidate at the IEP.

February 10

The Chinese Vision of the Post-Electoral Situation in the U.S. and Taiwan and the Implications for the EU

with *Anne-Charlotte Leclerc*, IEP, Paris.

March 31

The Strategic Implications of Sino-EU relations with *François Godement*.

Study Group on Asian Economies

February 4

Financial Integration in East Asia

with *Kim Heungchong*, director of the Europe unit, Center for Regional Economic Studies, Korean Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP), Seoul.

March 11

The Rivalry between China and Japan

with *Denis Tersen*, Treasury and Economic Policy General Directorate (DGTPE) of the Ministry of Economy, Finance, and Industry, former advisor for economic and trade affairs at the French Embassy in Tokyo.

April 22

Asia's Emerging Economies and Chinese Competition

with *F. Nicolas*.

June 3

The Rise of Free Trade Agreements in Asia

with *Christian Milelli*, researcher at the National Center of Scientific Research (CNRS.)

Seminars

June 24

The Rise of China and Korea's Regional Policy

The closing seminar of the study on regional integration in East Asia brought together numerous Korean and French academics and researchers.

June 27-28

6th Franco-Korean Dialogue

in partnership with the Korea Foundation, Seoul

Opened by *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Kwon In Hyuk*, President of the Korea Foundation, this meeting was the occasion for an extensive exchange of points of view on perspectives concerning events in the Korean peninsula, EU policy toward Korea, and the state of relations between France and South Korea.

December 6

China's Peaceful Rise and Sino-European Relations

in partnership with the China Reform Forum, Beijing

This meeting, presided over by *Valérie Niquet* and *Xavier de Villepin*, member of the board of Ifri, was the occasion for discussion with a Chinese delegation led by *Zheng Bijian*, President of the China Reform Forum, and *Li Junru*, Vice-President of the China Reform Forum and Vice-President of the Chinese Communist Party Central School.

December 13

Security Questions in Asia:

Taiwan's Defense Policy

Closed-door seminar with *Andrew Nien-Dzu Yang*, secretary general, Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies, Taiwan.

TRANSVERSAL PROGRAMS

Department Of Security Studies

The approach adopted by the department of security studies takes into account the recent mutations in the notion of security: the new relation between military and civilian factors that are believed to produce security, the now evident interrelation between the internal and external dimensions to the security of political societies; the expansion of the concept of security itself human and global security.

Staff

Dominique David, Head of the department

Research fellows:

Jean Klein, arms control, proliferation; Germany

Étienne de Durand, strategic and military issues, U.S. strategy, crisis management

Aline Leboeuf, crisis management, post-conflict situations, human security, African issues

Marc Hecker, terrorism, crisis management, Middle-East (Israel)

Françoise Thomas, assistant

Research Associates:

Jolyon Howorth, professor at Yale University: European security, ESDP

Alain Antil, University of Rennes: African crises

Krzysztof Soloch, Poland, EU new member states, Central Europe

The focus is on four areas of research :

Armed conflicts: a prospective approach

The program's current research attempts to anticipate the evolution of geopolitical issues and the modes of conflict that they will engender.

Continuing a study conducted in 2004 on "a topology of conflicts," exploratory reflection is underway in conjunction with Thalès to identify the possible indicators of conflict prevention (to be completed in 2006).

Evolution of strategic concepts and military forces

Research focuses on confronting politico-strategic options in the face of evolutions in the security environment.

Three programs are currently ongoing.

- Major U.S. strategic and military options

This program's focus stems from the new context created by two major evolutions: the end of the Cold War and the impact of several important technological changes. The American model serves as the key point of reference.

Following a study written in 2004 on American redeployments, a new study conducted by Étienne de Durand for the Center for the Study of the Social Sciences of Defense (Centre d'études en sciences sociales de la défense, (C2SD) of the French Ministry of Defense was devoted to "The Development of an air doctrine in the U.S., the U.K. and France."

In 2006, the department of security studies will assume the management of an American Strategy Monitoring Group. Its work will be devoted particularly to an in-depth analysis of the *Quadrennial Defense Review*, as well as the study of the possible "militarization" of space, to civilian and military relations in the U.S.; and to American strategy in the former Soviet world.

- Strategic Dialogues

The department maintains a permanent dialogue concerning security issues with several foreign counterparts.

• Transatlantic dialogue:

"Quadripartite" seminar

Each year representatives from Ifri, Chatham House (UK), The German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), and the RAND Corporation (U.S.) meet to discuss security issues linked to current international affairs.

This year, Ifri hosted the seminar (6-7 October), which is held alternately at each of the four institutions.

• Franco-Russian dialogue

Organized in partnership with the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO), the bilateral Franco-Russian seminar on security issues has met alternately in Paris and Moscow for the last 11 years. In 2005 the meeting took place in Moscow (see Russia/NIS).

• Franco-Polish dialogue

Inaugurating a partnership between Ifri and the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), a bilateral Franco-Polish seminar was held in Warsaw in December 2005. The meetings will henceforth occur on a regular basis.

- Creation of a program on Terrorism

This program is being constructed around two defining projects to be completed in 2006: on the one hand, a crisis simulation based on Ifri-devised specific hypotheses for the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'études et de prévision, CEP) of the French Ministry of Interior; on the other hand, a series of research seminars (organized in cooperation with the North Africa/Middle East program) around the theme of Radical Islam and Terrorism: European perspectives. This series of seminars will be privately funded.

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction

This program, supported in part by the French Atomic Energy Commission (Commissariat à l'énergie atomique, CEA), organizes a series of seminars with experts in the field, as well as a special daylong debate on a question stemming from current affairs (in 2005, the Conference on the revision of the Non-Proliferation Treaty).

In 2006 the focus will be on North Korea, the buildup of the Chinese military, and the proliferation of cruise missiles.

Contributions are published in an electronic collection created for this purpose, *Proliferation Papers* (with more than 1500 readers in France and abroad) and in *Politique étrangère*.

Four Proliferation Papers have been published. The authors have been: *William C. Potter*, *Yuri E. Fedorov*, *Dimitri Trenin*, and *George Perkovich*.

(See Publications).



Post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction

More and more, Western states are participating in complex interventions aimed at post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction. The foundations and modalities of such efforts suffer from a lack of critical and operational reflection. Current crisis situations — in particular their asymmetrical dimension — call for a new concept of operations that can lead successfully to the long-term reconstruction of viable states and societies as well as the exit of intervening powers.

Using specific examples, this program attempts to take into consideration the material and political constraints that weight on intervening forces as well as the specific logic of each conflict. The goal is to improve efficiency in the use of force by keeping in mind the connections between political, military, and humanitarian considerations. The work directed by *Étienne de Durand* and *Aline Leboeuf* focuses on the phase of stabilization. It has lead them to devise the concept of “fluid conflict.” (*Aline Leboeuf*).

Studies

- **The management of crises and complex stabilization operations**
This study, directed by *Étienne de Durand* for the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prévision, CAP) of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led to a seminar of experts on the Afghan situation (January 4).
- **Management of African Crises**
A study of Franco-German collaboration in the management of African crises conducted by *Aline Leboeuf* in cooperation with the Institute for African Affairs (IAK) in Hamburg for the Delegation for Strategic Affairs (DAS) of the French Ministry of Defense. In the context of this study, *Andrea Mehler*, director of the IAK, presented his research at a seminar (September 12).
- **Post-conflict recovery**
The case of Sierra Leone is the object of doctoral research by *A. Leboeuf*.
- **Human Security: healthcare issues**
As a prolongation of a seminar organized at the end of 2004 on AIDS and security risks (which produced a report for the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS and the United Nations), the department of security studies plans to establish a long-term program of research on Security and healthcare systems (the risk of epidemics, the specific vulnerabilities of healthcare systems, the particular problem of fragile states, the management of bioterrorism, etc.)

By nature, these programs are transversal. The department regularly collaborates with most of the other research units at Ifri (North Africa/Middle East, Asia Center, Russia/NIS, etc.) In 2006, attempts to stabilize and expand the funding of programs and to systemize the corresponding publications will be a top priority.

Seminars and debates

“Proliferation” program
(in cooperation with the French Atomic Energy Commission)

March 15

Which Nuclear Posture Review for Washington and Moscow

with *William C. Potter*, director, Center for Non Proliferation Studies and Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey, and *Dmitri V. Trenin*, Deputy Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow Center.

May 24

Everything You Wanted to Know About Nuclear Terrorism but Were Afraid to Ask

with *Graham Allison*, Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

June 20

NPT Review Conference: An Appraisal

This daylong seminar, chaired by *Thérèse Delpech*, French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), provided the occasion for considering future perspectives relative to the issue of non-proliferation through an evaluation of the main issues behind the conference on the revision of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (2-17 May), the key debates linked to the conference and the position of non-aligned countries. The debates benefited in particular from the participation of *François Rivasseau*, ambassador, permanent French representative to the Conference on Disarmament, *Patricia Lewis*, Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), *Alaa Issa*, permanent Egyptian representative to the United Nations, *George Perkovich*, Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and *Sverre Lodgaard*, Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI).

June 21

Iran : Beyond the Nuclear Threshold

with *George Perkovich*, Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington.

Strategic Dialogues

October 6-7

“Quadripartite” Meeting 2005

This transatlantic seminar, organized with the support of the European Aeronautic Defense and Space Company (EADS), was devoted to exchanging perspectives on the evolution of the Middle East, the European Union and its future enlargement, security questions in East Asia and the implications of India's growing power, and the future of non-proliferation in light of the challenges posed by North Korea and Iran. The delegation from the RAND Corporation (California), led by its president, *James Thomson*, included *Robert Blackwill*, Ambassador *Robert Hunter* and *Steve Larrabee*. *Volker Perthes*, Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP, Berlin) and *Victor Bulmer-Thomas*, Director of Chatham House, led expert delegations from their own organizations.

December 12-13

Franco-Polish Seminar: Key Security Issues

(in partnership with the Polish Institute of International Affairs), Warsaw

This meeting provided the occasion to review French and Polish strategic thinking and security agendas, French and Polish cooperation in the context of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and bilateral military cooperation.

December 19-20

Franco-Russian Seminar/MGIMO

See Russia/NIS.

Africa Seminars and Crisis management

January 4

Afghanistan, Laboratory of Complex Stabilization Operations

In light of the military and political operations in Afghanistan, this daylong seminar attempted to determine the elements of a stabilization strategy.

February 28

Peacekeeping Operations

Meeting with *Lakhdar Brahimi*, representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Afghanistan.

September 12

Actors and Modes and Violence in West Africa

with *Andreas Mehler*, Director of the Institute for African Affairs (IAK, Hamburg).

September 28

Strategic and Regional Implications of the Coup d'Etat in Mauritania

with *Alain Antil*, University of Rennes

Other

October 17

UN and the New Challenges of International Security

A seminar organized in conjunction with the Swedish embassy on the 100th anniversary of Dag Hammarskjöld's birth and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. With *Frank Belfrage*, the Swedish ambassador to France, *Hans Blix*, Chairman of the weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC) and former Executive chairman of the United Nations Monitoring Verification and Inspection Commission ("The UN and Arms Control"), *Michel Camdessus*, former Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), honorary Governor of the Banque de France ("The UN and Development"), *Gareth Evans*, President of the International Crisis Group (ICG) ("The UN and Crisis Management"), *Jean-Marie Guéhenno*, United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, and *Thierry de Montbrial* ("The UN and its New Challenges").

November 24

The Great North: Key Geopolitical and Security Issues

Colloquium organized with the Norwegian embassy, chaired by *Jonas Gahr Store*, Norwegian minister of Foreign Affairs.

World Economy

Staff

Frédérique Sachwald, Head of the economic studies

Luis Miotti, Associate Researcher

Vincent Vasques, Research Assistant

Catherine Meniane, Assistant

Globalization exerts tremendous pressure on local production systems through the increase in both opportunities and competition. The World Economy program studies interactions between multinational corporations' activities, the growth in world trade and the evolution of national production systems.

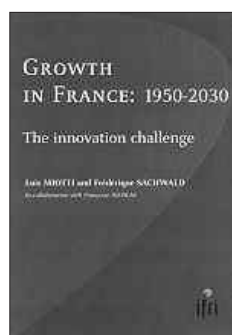
Globalization and National production systems

Like many other EU members, France currently fails to achieve high levels of growth. All industrialized countries are now faced with an unprecedented level of competition from emerging nations in various industrial activities and services. This has generated extensive debate around the issues of relocation, deindustrialization, and, in France, decline.

Since 1993 and the establishment of the "European Single Market", European companies have been better able to exploit economies of scale within Europe. But the acceleration of globalization and innovation since 2000 has intensified competitive pressure and modified competitive factors. China and other emerging countries, as well as the new members of the EU, now participate in the production networks of multinational corporations, a key factor allowing these countries to achieve a certain level of industrial specialization in the manufacture of medium and high technology products.

In this new context, many EU countries lack the attractiveness of emerging countries for the production of standardized goods or that of the United States for high technology, R&D, and sophisticated services. France, in particular, has had difficulties in achieving innovation-driven growth that would allow it to assume a more favorable position in the division of international labor that is currently undergoing rapid evolution.

In 2005, The World Economy program examined these issues through two research projects:



The future of the French productive system in the world economy

This program analyzes the conditions under which EU countries, particularly France, can reinvigorate their productive performances and sustain growth. The world economy program's research focused on the organization and location of production around the world in order to identify the preferable orientation for countries like France.

The question of relocation was at the center of the program's research agenda in 2005. A focus on relocation, however, should not obscure the fact there are a myriad of changes that are restructuring the productive systems of high wage countries. Relocation is just one of the channels of change affecting highly industrialized countries. Thus, one major challenge for these countries is to anticipate relocations, to enhance the resilience and capacity for innovation of their economies.

In 2005, The World Economy program's research produced several publications, including *Growth in France 1950-2030: the Innovation Challenge*, by L. Miotti and F. Sachwald, in coll. with Françoise Nicolas. Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri, 2004, 2nd ed. 2005 and diverse studies presented at conferences.

Growth and innovation in EU economies: the Lisbon agenda

The EU economy was studied in terms of two major issues: the integration of new member states into the EU system of production, particularly through multinational networks developed during the 1990s; and the Lisbon strategy, a commitment to transforming the EU into the world's leading knowledge-based economy.

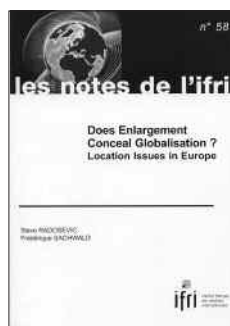
This research produced *The Impact of EU Enlargement on the Location of Production in Europe*, by F. Sachwald, Étude de l'Ifri, February 2005, as well as two conferences and their subsequent publications.

Internationalization of R&D and the global network of innovation

Since the 1990s, R&D has become increasingly mobile and internationalized. R&D has entered the era of globalization, slightly behind other aspects of corporate activity, but now following a similar dynamic in which offer and demand play their own role. Until recently, R&D was considered difficult to decentralize since it is fundamentally related to the firm's business strategy and derives from tacit knowledge exchange.

Progress in information technology and communication and developments in firms and markets organization however, have stimulated a fragmentation and externalization of certain R&D activities. In the last few years, the phenomenon has accelerated with the integration of emerging countries global networks of innovation forged by multinationals.

In this context, Ifri has worked towards situating the French system of innovation within the global map of R&D. This research program has resulted in a joint publication with the Institut de l'Entreprise: *Le Système français d'innovation dans l'économie mondiale: enjeux et priorités*, by R. Larédo and F. Sachwald (eds.). April 2005.



Seminars and Conferences

Program: "The Future of the French productive system within the world economy"

May 11

Recent Globalization Trends: the Growing Role of Emerging Nations

Organized in collaboration with A.T. Kearney

Paul Laudicina, Vice-President and managing director, A.T. Kearney's Global Business Council, presented the recent findings of the A.T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Globalization Index 2005. He focused on emerging economies and compared current trends with the A.T. Kearney FDI Confidence Index. Frédérique Sachwald discussed current trends in FDI, international trade, and their impact on the localization of economic activity.

"Lisbon Agenda" Program

June 1

The Impact of Enlargement on Localization and Competitiveness EU Businesses

A joint effort by Ifri and its Brussels branch, Eur-Ifri, with the participation of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), this one-day conference examined the impact of enlargement on the competitiveness of European firms in a globalized context where production capacities have become increasingly mobile.

Speakers included representatives from the European Commission, corporate leaders, economists, and researchers. They came to the conclusion that if EU firms take advantage of the dynamism of new EU members economies, enlargement may contribute to improving corporate competitiveness.

The conference led to the subsequent publication of *Does Enlargement Conceal Globalization? Relocation Trends in Europe*, S. Radošević and F. Sachwald, Note de l'Ifri n. 58, La Documentation française, October 2005.

June 15

Developing the European Transport Network

In 1993, an EU white paper on growth, competitiveness and employment proposed the construction of trans-European networks for transportation, energy and telecommunications to be completed by 2010. The importance of such an effort has been reaffirmed repeatedly since then. However, the construction of such networks has been hindered by problems of funding and a lack of coordination of national and European priorities. This conference focused on determining ways to speed up the completion of these trans-European networks, with a special emphasis on the problem of funding.

Along with figures from the world of finance, the conference brought together specialists from the European Commission and the European Investment Bank, and members of the European Parliament.

It led to the subsequent publication of *Développer les réseaux transeuropéens de transport: quels financements pour une politique ambitieuse?*, L. Miotti, V. Vasques and F. Sachwald, Policy Paper n. 16, August 2005.

June 30

Future Prospects of the American Debt

With Anton Brender and Florence Pisani, economists at Dexia Asset Management, and Jacques Mistral, financial counselor to the French embassy in Washington.

Chairperson: *Frédérique Sachwald*

The speakers examined the strengths and weaknesses of growth in the United States and responded to questions concerning the U.S. trade and budget deficits as well as the structural and conjunctural causes of the debt burden of individual American households.

November 30

Global innovation networks and the role of emerging countries

This first Global innovation networks conference, organized in partnership with ANRT (National Association for Technical Research) was the occasion, in the light of the latest studies, to take stock of the situation relative to R&D internationalisation. It confirmed the dynamism of internationalization of R&D and the increasing role of some emerging countries in the multinational's global innovation networks. This dimension has been addressed by *Kalman Kalotay*, from the investment department at the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development); *Jerry Sheehan*, from the Sciences and Technology Policy Division at the OECD, dealt with the implications of such trends for advanced countries (threat or opportunity?); *Fabrice Hatem*, head of the Observatory of international investments at the Invest in France Agency (IFA/AFII), presented latest trends of R&D location in Europe. *Andrew Dearing*, Secretary-General of the European Industrial Research Management Association (EIRMA), *Arnould de Meyer* (INSEAD) and *F. Sachwald*, commented upon the presentations.

The Trade Policy and Globalization Governance Program

France produces little independent applied research and debate on trade and globalization. France's ability to influence economic strategies both within the EU and internationally suffers from this fact. The Trade Policy and Globalization Governance Program was established in order to try and overcome this deficit.

Staff

Jean-Marie Paugam, Program Director
Anne-Sophie Novel, Research Assistant

The program's main objectives are

- **to identify** the trends structuring the system of international trade in order to contribute to the formulation of public policies and private strategies.
- **to influence** public debate through the contribution of objective information on major economic and social arguments shaping the debate on trade policy and international economic policy.
- **to promote** new ideas within the European and international context by facilitating interaction between researchers and a variety of actors in the economic and social sectors.

The program thrives on the fact that it is equidistant from the interests of companies, government, and NGOs and is oriented toward public interest. In 2005, the program entered into a partnership with the Center for Prospective Studies and International Information (CEPII) in Paris.

The main areas of research in 2005 were:

- **the Doha round of multilateral trade negotiations**, with an emphasis on development issues: new economic challenges and norms, the negotiations political economy, the international balance of power, North-South dialogue, and the overall architecture with its institutional challenges.
- **EU regional and bilateral trade agreements**, focusing on transatlantic economic and trade relations and the Euro-Mediterranean economic partnership.
- **trade and sustainable development**, with a contribution to the series of debates "France/BIT," organized by the Ministry of Employment, Social Cohesion, and Housing on the social repercussions of the internationalization of employment.
- **French and EU decision-making processes** related to trade policy.

The program produced several publications, including the Policy Brief Paper, *The Future of Special and Differential Treatment: The Twin Challenges of Preference Erosion and Developing Countries Differentiation*, by Jean-Marie Paugam, Serge Perrin and Anne-Sophie Novel, Ifri-AFD, December 2005.

Seminars and conferences

Seminars

Two breakfast meetings were organized on the road map for WTO negotiations.

March 11

Hong Kong 2005: French Objectives and the Road Map for WTO Negotiations

This seminar brought together French negotiators to discuss two themes: the current state of WTO talks and the French and EU objectives for the Hong Kong ministerial meeting. The debate was opened by *Pierre Moraillon*, chief negotiator for France, director of international relations, general director of the Treasury and Economic Policy, Ministry of the Economy, Finance, and Industry; *Emmanuelle Butaud*, international director, Union des Industries Textiles (UIT); *Jean Rodesch*, director of European affairs, Pernod Ricard; *Henri Rouillé d'Orfeuil*, President of the board of Coordination Sud, (umbrella group of French international solidarity NGOs).

Chairperson: *Jean-Marie Paugam*

June 24

Hong Kong 2005: the Objectives of Developing Countries

This second breakfast meeting, organized in partnership with the Center for Prospective Studies and International Information (CEPII), focused on the economic interests and objectives of the developing world relative to the negotiations, and the strategies of the G20 and G90 countries during the negotiations. Several negotiators and development economists participated, including *José Alfredo Graça Lima*, Brazilian Ambassador to the EU; *Eloi Laourou*, counselor to Benin's permanent mission to the WTO and the UN; *Alfredo Tovas*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, guest researcher at CEPII and the OECD Center for Development; *Pierre Defraigne*, Director, Eur-Ifri.

Chairperson: *Jean-Marie Paugam*

Public International Conference

October 28

Trade and Development: the Future of Special and Differential Treatment

Organized in collaboration with the French Agency for Development in anticipation of the ministerial meeting of the WTO in Hong Kong, this conference focused on two important dimensions of the question of development relative to multilateral trade negotiations: the future of the system of special treatment for countries that are the most vulnerable in the process of international liberalization; and the future of differential treatment for developing countries, in particular the emerging economies, given the rules and commitments of the WTO. The conference provided an occasion for experts on these questions from around the world to share their insights with a large audience of actors from both the public and private sectors. The main conclusions of the meeting were collected in a Policy Brief published before the Hong Kong ministerial meeting. The totality of the papers is now published.

This project was supported by the General Directorate for Trade of the European Commission.

Agricultural Policy Program

Agricultural policy is in a state of perpetual change due to the pressure of diverse factors: international trade talks, European enlargement, consumer environmental concerns, as well as health and ethical considerations.

Through objective analysis, this program seeks to foster the conditions that can lead to effective compromise on agricultural regulations among the various international actors. The program seeks a comprehensive view of agricultural policy, which necessitates taking into consideration the varying importance of the agricultural sector in the major exporting nations, in emerging nations like Brazil, Argentina, India, or China, as well as in the less- and least-developed nations.

Staff

Pierre Rainelli, Director of Research, National Institute of Agronomic Research (INRA), Rennes, Program Director, Associate Researcher

Guy Legras, Scientific Counselor

Anne-Claire Thomas, Research Assistant

In 2005, the Agricultural Policy Program received the generous support of the Sologne Group, Crédit Agricole, Groupama, Unigrains, the Federation of Producers of Oleaginous and Proteaginous Goods, the General Confederation of Beet Planters, Invivo, and Henri Nallet.



Seminars and debates

March 29

The Future of Biofuels

Interest in developing alternative, renewable sources of energy is growing rapidly because of the prospect of durably high oil prices coupled with increasing concern about climate change. The development of biofuels, because they allow for the reduction of greenhouse gas emission, is particularly gaining in credibility. This seminar explored the future use of biofuels from a variety of angles, including their agronomic characteristics, the existing and potential techniques of their transformation, and incentive policies promoting their development in various regions.

May 7

Food and Water from Today in 2025

Seminar with *Mark Rosegrant*, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and *Michel Griffon*, the French Agricultural Research Center for International Development (CIRAD). Sometime between now and 2025, the world's farmers will need to be able to produce food to feed 8 billion people. While the demand for water from all users (industry, domestic users, and all other species) is in full expansion, the actual resources available are being exhausted. Will there be enough fresh water to produce the food of tomorrow? What measures must be taken to prevent water shortages from aggravating the problem of hunger in the world? These questions were at the heart of the day's expert discussion.

October 6

4th "Agriculture and Globalization" conference European Agriculture on the Eve of Hong Kong

Held on the eve of the WTO's 6th ministerial meeting in Hong Kong, this international conference sought to generate propositions on agricultural policy that could be acceptable to all European parties. Among the topics of discussion were the conditions by which agricultural products from developing countries have access to European markets and the issue of export subsidies. Along with the French Minister of Agriculture and Fishing, *Dominique Bussereau*, who opened the conference, several eminent officials participated in the gathering, including *Loyola de Palacio*, the former Spanish Minister of Agriculture and former European Commissioner, *Marion Guillou*, President of the National Institute for Agronomic Research (INRA), *Jean Bizet*, Senator, *Pierre Méhaignerie*, President of the National Assembly's Finance, General Economy, and Planning Commission, *Jerzy Plewa*, Professor, Warsaw Agricultural University, and former Polish deputy Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development.

This conference led to the publication of *Agriculture: l'enjeu du cycle du développement?*

4th "Agriculture and Globalization" Conference, Ifri, and *Les Politiques agricoles sont-elles condamnées par la mondialisation?* Pierre Rainelli (ed.), Brussels, Academia Bruylant, 2005.

November 14

Brazilian Agriculture: Strengths and Weaknesses with *Hervé Théry*, director of research at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), guest professor at the University of São Paulo.

The Energy and International Relations Program

The Energy and International Relations Program conducts research on the interaction of world energy systems (markets, industries, technologies) and international relations. The program regularly organizes international seminars featuring high-level officials from both the private and public sectors.

Researcher:

Pierre Noël, also the head of the “Energy and climate change” program at the French Center on the United States (CFE). The two programs coordinate their activities and share their resources.

Research Agenda

The research agenda is divided into **three main topics**:

- Energy security and foreign policies of the United States, China, and the EU;
- the major hydrocarbon production zones in the post-September 11 world and the new geopolitics of energy (the Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Russia, and the post-Soviet states);
- the implications of climate change policies on international energy markets, in particular on the economies of the major hydrocarbon exporters.

Report

Climate change policies and long-term geostrategies of energy markets, study for the Climate Change Management and Impact Program (GlCC) of the French Ministry of Ecology and Sustainable Development, intermediate report, October

Working document

“The Implication of Energy Sanctions against Iran,” P. Noël (see also “publications”).

Seminars and conferences

June 13

Oil at \$ 50 a Barrel... What Next?

Seminar with *Emmanuel Bergasse*, administrator for central and southeast Europe, International Energy Agency (IEA), *Catherine Locatelli*, associate researcher, CNRS, University of Grenoble, and *Pierre Noël*.

The price of oil has quadrupled in the last five years. After an analysis of the economic and geopolitical aspects of this evolution, the participants discussed the implications for the new EU members, all of which are highly dependent on Russian oil.

Transatlantic Program

Scientific Coordinator:

Dominique Moïsi, special advisor, Ifri

Steering Committee :

Thierry de Montbrial, *Dominique Moïsi*, *Robin Niblett* (CSIS), *Jolyon Howorth* (Yale University), *Ethan Kapstein* (Insead), *Michael Inacker* (Daimler-Chrysler), *Pierre-Antoine Badoz* (France Telecom).

Created at the end of 2005, the transatlantic program is organized around three themes that are crucial to the evolution of the transatlantic dialogue. Each theme will be the basis of an international seminar as well as a publication.

The three themes are:

- **The comparison between European and American approaches to Russia.**

The growing divergences between the two approaches toward Russia as well as the current dynamic of the Russian government and the future of the EU-Russia Partnership (particularly concerning energy issues) are the subjects of lively debate in Europe. This project will be run in conjunction with the Center for Strategic International Studies (CSIS), Washington.

Head of the program: *Thomas Gomart*, Head of the Russia/NEI program.

- **The implications of EU enlargement for transatlantic relations.**

The goal of this project is to compare "social models;" to evaluate the consequences of EU enlargement on NATO and the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP); to compare European and American strategies towards the Middle East and the Mediterranean world. This project will be run in conjunction with the Institute for European Politics (IEP) in Berlin.

Head of the program: *Hans Stark*, Secretary-General of CERFA, Ifri.

- **Adaptation to the current phase of globalization: a transatlantic perspective.**

The goal of this project is to explore the various ways European countries and the United States are adjusting to economic globalization. Identifying the different strategies is a necessary pre-requisite to establishing greater cooperation in transatlantic economic governance.

Head of the program: *Frédérique Sachwald*, Head of economic studies, Ifri.

This program has been launched with the support of Daimler-Chrysler and France Telecom as well as CSIS financial partners.

The transatlantic dimension, which is a key aspect to the work of most of the research units at Ifri, is particularly central to the work of the French Center on the United States (CFE) and its annual conference.

The Migration, Identity, and Citizenship Program

The Migration, Identity, and Citizenship Program, launched in September 2005, studies the phenomenon of human migrations and policies affecting them. The program's main focus is on Europe, a destination for many migrants, many of whom eventually become citizens of the countries they settle in, and a testing place for immigration policies. The research program is intended to help policy makers adapt to the realities of human migration and achieve coherent co-development and "neighborhood" policies in line with migration pressure. It also addresses the need for the emergence of a new concept of a EU citizenship resulting from the presence of large numbers of immigrant groups in member states.

Staff

Christophe Bertossi, researcher, associate researcher at the Center for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, and at the Comparative Center for Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego.

The program's research is organized around three topics:

What migration policies for the EU:

the goal is to analyze the challenges and constraints stemming from an effort to define EU migration policies: the decision-making mechanisms, political constraints, demographic trends and the shortages in certain sectors of the labor market.

Research will also evaluate the scale of the movement of people from the eastern to the western parts of the enlarged EU.

How to adapt borders to the globalization of human migration:

the movement of people across borders has become one of the structural characteristics of international relations, both quantitatively and qualitatively (involving the diversification of migration routes and populations along with globalization of flows). The program examines the relationship between EU countries and countries of emigration and transit in the South and to the East in terms of migration as well as co-development and neighborhood projects.

What kind of citizenship for a diverse EU:

with the settlement of previous waves of immigration, Islam has become the EU's second religion. The question of discrimination based on ethnic, cultural, and religion criteria has become of central importance in the debate on the future of citizenship in the EU. The ability of EU nations to balance the guaranteeing of equality for all citizens with cementing the allegiance of all citizens to fundamental institutions in a context of cultural and religious diversity stands as a key topic of research.

Studies

Les Militaires français issus de l'immigration, by *Christophe Bertossi* and *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, The Reports of the C2SD, November 2005 (to be published as well by Robert Laffont).

Les Migrations clandestines à destination de l'espace Schengen en provenance de l'Afrique subsaharienne, by *Christophe Bertossi* (work in progress for the Strategic affairs department of the Ministry of Defense).

Conferences

January 27

Turkey European Transformations

With *Michael Emerson*, *Senem Aydin* and *Sinan Ulgen*, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels. See also the Cerfa seminar "Citizenship and the Challenges of Diversity", September 12.

March 17

Which Citizenship for Which Europe?

With *Christophe Bertossi*.
Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

On-line publications

La Turquie dans l'UE ?

Samim Akgönül, Ifri, Policy Papers, n. 18, Paris, September 2005 (foreword by *Christophe Bertossi*).

Are the Canadian immigration policies exportable to France and the EU?

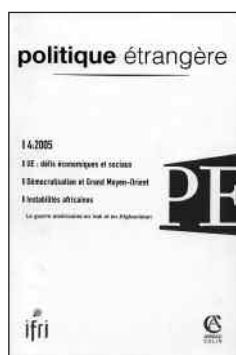
Denise Helly, Ifri, Policy Papers, n. 15 bis, Paris, August 2005 (foreword by *Christophe Bertossi*).

Projects

- A joint Franco-Spanish project on a possible EU policy concerning immigration inspired by the Mediterranean zone will be undertaken.
- A project on a EU neighborhood policy that seeks to adjust EU borders to the realities of the phenomenon of human migration.

Publications

Ifri publishes a *quarterly journal* *Politique étrangère*, and an annual publication, *RAMSES*. In addition the institute makes its research available to outside publications and diverse internal collections and in on-line format ("Note de l'Ifri", "Policy Papers" and "Working Papers").



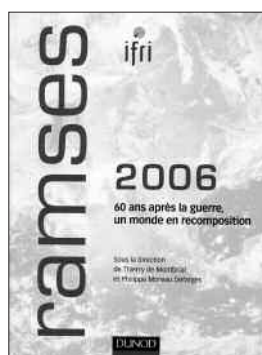
Politique étrangère

The quarterly journal, *Politique étrangère*, provides readers with the keys to get a grip on current events through the words of a variety of actors of diverse outlooks. In 2005, *Politique étrangère* devoted articles to the multiplicity of Islam, the EU constitution, instability in Africa, democratization in the Middle East, the role of the UN in nation-building, ten years of Euro-Mediterranean partnership, biological weapons, Russia's evolution, the Ukraine, and, of course, Iran and Iraq.

The journal featured, to a large extent, the work of Ifri researchers but also opened its pages to some of the best international analysts (Malika Zeghal, Thérèse Delpech, Brad Roberts, Chandré Gould, Charles Wyplosz, Gilles Dorransoro, Jean-Louis Quermonne, Samim Akgönül) as well as the authoritative voices of figures like Robert Badinter, Lakhdar Brahimi, and Miguel Ángel Moratinos.

Editor-in-chief: *Dominique David*

Editorial assistants: *Delphine Renard, Marielle Roubach.*



RAMSES

(Annual Global Report on the Economic System and Strategies)

Published annually under the direction of *Thierry de Montbrial* and *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, RAMSES combines an evaluation of key developments during each previous year with a prospective analysis of major trends shaping the future. RAMSES includes comprehensive tables with key data, maps and a chronology of the year. It is an essential resource for those involved in policy making, but also for researchers, watchers and students. RAMSES 2006 explored the question of global economic and political governance and the parts of the world in search of a new equilibrium: Japan, Russia, and the zone that extends from Iran to Morocco; two chapters analyzed the evolution of transatlantic and EU relations. The second part of the publication provided short overviews of developments around the world.

Europe

Books

L'Identité de la France et l'Europe

THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL and SABINE JANSEN (eds.), Bruxelles, Bruylant.

Constitution européenne.

Voter en connaissance de cause

PHILIPPE MOREAU DEFARGES (dir.), Paris, Éditions d'Organisation.

Où va l'Europe ?

PHILIPPE MOREAU DEFARGES, Paris, Eyrolles.

Publications of the Cerfa

Radioscopies de l'Allemagne 2005

CLAIRE DEMESMAY and HANS STARK (eds.), Paris, La Documentation française (this book contains all the texts published in 2004 by the Cerfa in the "Note du Cerfa" and "Visions franco-allemandes").

Qui dirige l'Allemagne ?

CLAIRE DEMESMAY and HANS STARK (eds.), Lille, Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

La France, l'Allemagne, l'Europe.

Perspectives (3). La France et l'Allemagne face au budget européen

MAXIME LEFEBVRE and FRIEDRICH HEINEMANN, « Notes de l'Ifri », n° 57.

Electronic publications

(available on <www.ifri.org>)

Visions franco-allemandes

Y a-t-il une politique industrielle commune pour la France et l'Allemagne ?

HENRIK UTERWEDDE, n° 4, April.

France-Allemagne : pour une initiative qui aille au-delà des apparences

SYLVIE GOULARD, n° 5, June.

Constitution et construction européennes : regards français et allemands

SABINE VON OPPELN and CARINA SPRUNGK, n° 6, October.

"Note du Cerfa"

Le Marché du travail allemand à l'épreuve du chômage de masse - Une analyse des problèmes structurels

WERNER EICHHORST and ULRICH WALWEI, n° 19, February.

Le Marché du travail allemand à l'épreuve du chômage de masse - Quelles perspectives d'avenir ?

WERNER EICHHORST and ULRICH WALWEI, n° 20, March.

La Nouvelle Politique de l'immigration de l'Allemagne

STEFFEN ANGENENDT, n° 21, April.

L'Extrémisme de droite en Allemagne

BERND WAGNER, n° 22, May.

L'Allemagne, ses nouveaux Länder et le financement régional de l'Union européenne
MICHEL-ÉRIC DUFEL, n° 23, June.

La Fin d'une ère. Le SPD à l'automne du gouvernement Schröder
FRANZ WALTER, n° 24, July.

Le Rôle des syndicats et du patronat en Allemagne
ALAIN LATTARD, n° 25, August.

Germany's Policy on Russia: End of the Honeymoon?
HANNES ADOMEIT, n° 26(a), September

Russia and Germany: continuity and changes
ANDREI ZAGORSKI, n° 26(b), September.

Victoire à la Pyrrhus : la CDU/CSU dans les élections législatives de 2005
ANDREAS KIEBLING, n° 27, October.

Crise et renouveau en Allemagne de l'Est
RÜDIGER POHL, n° 28, November.

Le Nouveau Discours sur la justice internationale en Allemagne
PETER SILLER, n° 29, December.

Articles

« La France qui fronde : l'adhésion de la Turquie en débat »
CLAIRE DEMESMAY (with E. FOUGIER), *Le Débat*, n° 133, January-February.

« Die französische Malaise im Spiegel der Türkei-Debatte »
CLAIRE DEMESMAY (with E. FOUGIER), in A. GIANNAKOPOULOS and K. MARAS (eds.), *Die Türkei-Debatte in Europa - Ein Vergleich*, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

« Frankreich in der Welt: Weltpolitik zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit »
HANS STARK (with I. KOLBOOM), in A. KIMMEL and H. UTERWEDDE (eds.), *Länderbericht Frankreich*, Bonn, Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.

« Un siège permanent pour l'Allemagne au Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU ? »
HANS STARK, *Allemagne d'aujourd'hui*, n° 172, April-June.

« Allemagne – PECO. Une relation fluctuante »
HANS STARK, *Courrier des pays de l'Est*, n° 1049, June-July.

« Comment gérer l'après-18 septembre ? »
SONIA MARCOUX and EMMANUELLE SAUNIER, *Documents*, n° 3, September.

« Le concept d'identité »
THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL, in *L'Identité de la France et l'Europe*, Th. DE MONTBRIAL and S. JANSEN (eds.), Bruylant, Brussels.

« Les autres relations franco-allemandes : le rôle de la société civile dans le rapprochement entre Français et Allemands »
CLAIRE DEMESMAY, *Transnational Associations*, July-September.

« L'Allemagne à la recherche de la majorité perdue »
HANS STARK, *Regards sur l'économie allemande*, n° 73, October.

« Quel bilan pour la politique étrangère et de sécurité de l'Allemagne de Schröder ? »
HANS STARK, *Géopolitique*, n° 91, September-November.

« Quelle politique étrangère et de sécurité pour la grande coalition ? »
HANS STARK, *Allemagne d'aujourd'hui*, n° 174, October-December.

United States (CFE)

Books

The International Leadership of the 109th Congress
JAMES M. LINDSAY, Ifri-CFE, April.

Fédéralisme et antifédéralisme
FRANÇOIS VERGNIOLE DE CHANTAL, Paris, PUF, « Que sais-je ? ».

“Working papers” and “Policy Papers”
(electronic publications available on <www.ifri.org>)

Space Program

Les coopérations spatiales entre l'Inde et les États-Unis
LAURENCE NARDON, « Working Paper », April.

The Evolution of the Euro/Dollar Exchange Rate
LAURENCE NARDON, « Working Paper », July.

The Still Untrodden Heights: Global Imperative for Space Exploration in the 21st Century
MAÏTÉ JAURÉGUY and CHRISTIAN BECKNER (final report of the CFE-CSIS-ISU project), August.

Europeans in Space
LAURENCE NARDON and MAÏTÉ JAURÉGUY (final report of the ESA-CFE project), September.

Lunar Missions and Market Perspectives: the Outlook for Launchers, Fall 2005
LAURENCE NARDON, « Working Paper », October.

Space Export Control Update, September 2004-November 2005
LAURENCE NARDON and JOHN CARSLON, « Working Paper », November.

Energy and Climate Change

Technology Policy for Energy and Climate Change ROBERT C. MARLAY and BURTON H. KOSKE, « Policy Paper », August.

Articles

« Est-ce la fin du partenariat transatlantique ? »
NICOLAS DE BOISGROLLIER, *RAMSES 2006*.

« États-Unis/Politique intérieure »
FRANÇOIS DE CHANTAL, *RAMSES 2006*.

« États-Unis : vers une révolution mondiale »
GUILLAUME PARMENTIER, *Politique Internationale*, n° 107, Spring.

« Les États-Unis et l'OTAN, De l'Alliance à la Coalition »
GUILLAUME PARMENTIER, in *Annuaire français de relations internationales*.

Russia/NIS

« Russie.Nei.Visions »
(electronic collections of policy papers.
Also available in French and in Russian on <www.ifri.org>)

A Fine Balance: the Strange Case of Sino-Russian Relations BOBO LO, n° 1, April.

Shared Beighbourhood or New Frontline? The Crossroads in Moldova
DOV LYNCH, n° 2, April.

Re-writing Russia's Subsoil Law: From Sovereignty to Cicial Law?
WILLIAM TOMPSON n° 3, May.

Russian Scientists: Where are they? Where are they going? Human Resources and Research Policy in Russia
IRINA DEZHINA, n° 4, June.

From Plans to Substance: EU-Russia Relations During the British Presidency
ANDREW MONAGHAN, n° 5, August.

The Relations between Germany and Russia
(double issue in partnership with the Cerfa)

“Russie and Germany: Continuity and Changes”,
ANDREI ZAGORSKI, n° 6(a), September;

“Germany's policy on Russia: End of the Honeymoon?”,
HANNES ADOMEIT, n° 6(b), September.

UE Crisis: What Opportunities for Russia?
TIMOFEI BORDATCHEV, n° 7, October.

Articles

« D'une étrange Russie »
DOMINIQUE DAVID, *Études*, n° 4021, January.

« Četyre prostranstva: koncepcija prošlogo, nastoâšego ili budušego »
(The four spheres: yesterday, today or tomorrow concepts?)
THOMAS GOMART, *Evropa*, n° 5, May.

« Russie : trop-plein d'énergie ou d'inertie ? »
THOMAS GOMART, *RAMSES 2006*.

« L'Union européenne et la mer Noire : franchir un nouveau cap avec les moyens du bord »
THOMAS GOMART, NATO Defense College, Occasional Paper, n° 11, December.

ASIA

Book

Korea and the Dual Chinese Challenge

FRANÇOISE NICOLAS, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP).

Articles

« Doit-on craindre le réveil de la Chine ? »

FRANÇOISE NICOLAS, *Positions et médias*, vol. 51, n° 30, June.

« La Chine, pivot de l'intégration économique en Asie de l'Est ? »

FRANÇOISE NICOLAS, *Sociétal*, n° 48, 2nd trimestre.

« La Corée face à l'émergence de l'économie chinoise »

FRANÇOISE NICOLAS, in S. BOISSEAU DU ROCHER and F. GODEMENT (eds.), *Asie orientale 2005-2006*, Paris, La Documentation française.

« La géopolitique de l'énergie en Extrême-Orient : nouvel enjeu des relations sino-japonaises »

VALÉRIE NIQUET, *Politique étrangère*, n° 4/2005.

« La stratégie de puissance de la Chine »

VALÉRIE NIQUET, in « Guerres et menaces de guerre », *Cités* n° 24, December.

North Africa/Middle East

Books

Musulmans de France et d'Europe

RÉMY LEVEAU and KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN (dir.), Paris, CNRS Éditions.

La défense des intérêts de l'État d'Israël en France

MARC HECKER, Paris, L'Harmattan.

Policy Papers (electronic publications, available on <www.ifri.org>)

Religion et politique au Maghreb : les exemples tunisien et marocain

FRANCK FREGOSI and MALIKA ZEGHAL, introduced by KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN, n° 11, March.

Iran, Irak, États-Unis : vers un nouvel axe régional au Moyen-Orient ?

RÉMY LEVEAU (ed.), n° 14, March.

Articles

« Le Moyen-Orient entre peurs et espoirs »

DENIS BAUCHARD, *RAMSES 2006*.

« Le Maghreb entre ouvertures nécessaires et autoritarismes possibles »

KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN, *RAMSES 2006*.

« Maroc : l'émergence de l'islamisme sur la scène politique »

KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN, *RAMSES 2006*.

« L'Allemagne, la France et le conflit israélo-palestinien »

ISABEL SCHÄFER ET DOROTHÉE SCHMID, *Politique étrangère*, n° 2/2005.

« Le partenariat, une méthode européenne de démocratisation en Méditerranée ? »

DOROTHÉE SCHMID, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/2005.

« La société israélienne : contradictions et divisions »

MARC HECKER, *Études*, November.

« Maghreb »

KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN, in *Atlas du Monde diplomatique*.

« Entre Europe et Méditerranée, quelles fractures ? »

KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN, in EMILIO LA PARRA and THIERRY FABRE (eds.), *Paix et guerres entre les cultures*, Arles, Actes Sud.

« Le pourrissement de la situation au Sahara occidental »

KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN, in *Annuaire Méditerranéen 2005*, Barcelona.

« Maghreb, stabilité ou sclérose ? »

KHADIJA MOHSEN-FINAN, AFKAR, Institut européen de la Méditerranée (IEMED), n° 6.

Security

Proliferation papers (electronic publications, available on <www.ifri.org>)

Trends in US Nuclear Policy

WILLIAM C. POTTER, n° 11, Spring.

Russia's strategic Forces: Policy, Evolution and Prospects

YURI E. FEDOROV, n° 12, Summer.

Russia's Nuclear Policy in the 21st Century Environment

DIMITRI TRENIN, n° 13, Autumn.

Toward Transatlantic Cooperation in Meeting the Iranian Nuclear Challenge

GEORGE PERKOVICH, n° 14, Winter.

Articles

« Les vicissitudes du régime de non-prolifération des armes nucléaires »

JEAN KLEIN, *RAMSES 2006*.

« Des Balkans à l'Afghanistan : les opérations de stabilisation complexes »

ÉTIENNE DE DURAND, *Politique étrangère*, n° 2/2005.

« Les conflits fluides : concepts et scénarios »

ALINE LEBCEUF, *Politique étrangère*, n° 3/2005.

« Le redéploiement global des forces américaines »

ÉTIENNE DE DURAND, *Politique étrangère*, n° 4/2005.

Economy

Trade and agriculture programs

Books

Growth in France, 1950-2030:

The Innovation Challenge

LUIS MIOTTI and FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, « Travaux et recherches de l'Ifri », 2nd edition.

The Impact of EU Enlargement the Location of Production in Europe

FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, « Étude de l'Ifri », n° 4, February.

Does Enlargement conceal Globalization?

Relocation Trends in Europe

SLAVO RADOSEVIC and FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, « Note de l'Ifri », n° 58, October.

Le Système français d'innovation dans l'économie mondiale : enjeux et priorités

PHILIPPE LARÉDO and FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD (eds.), Institut de l'entreprise/Ifri, April.

Les Politiques agricoles sont-elles condamnées par la mondialisation ?

PIERRE RAINELLI (ed.), Brussels, Academia Bruylant.

Développer les réseaux transeuropéens de transport : quels financements pour une politique ambitieuse ?

LUIS MIOTTI, VINCENT VASQUES and FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, « Policy Paper » n°16, August (available on <www.ifri.org>), also published in Bulletin européen du Moniteur, October.

Articles

« Délocalisations : un danger pour le système productif français ? »

FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, *Encyclopedia Universalis*.

« Délocalisations : promouvoir l'évolution du système productif français »

FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, dans *Demain l'emploi si...* Paris, Rexecode/Economica.

« From Maastricht to Lisbon: EU Strategy in the Global Knowledge Economy »

FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, (available on <www.ifri.org>).

« Impact of changing production location on Foreign Direct Investment »

FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies, December (available on <www.tcf.or.jp>).

« L'OMC au défi du GATT : bilan du système commercial multilatéral »

JEAN-MARIE PAUGAM, *Les Cahiers français*, n° 325.

« Une nouvelle donne économique mondiale »

FRANÇOISE NICOLAS and JEAN-MARIE PAUGAM, *RAMSES 2006*.

« La politique commerciale de l'Union européenne : le fédéralisme clandestin »

RAPHAËL DELPECH and JEAN-MARIE PAUGAM, *Politique étrangère*, n° 4/2005.

« Impact de l'élargissement sur la localisation de la production en Europe »

FRÉDÉRIQUE SACHWALD, *Industrie en France et mondialisation*, Paris, SESSI/Ministère de l'Économie, des Finances et de l'Industrie, January.

Energy

Articles published in reviews, books and working papers.

« Dépendance pétrolière et politique étrangère américaine : au-delà des mythes »

PIERRE NOËL, in G. CHALLIAND and A. JAFALIAN (eds.), *La Dépendance pétrolière. Mythes et réalités d'un enjeu stratégique*, Paris, Encyclopaedia Universalis, 2005.

« Approvisionnement énergétique de la Chine : marchés et politiques »

PIERRE NOËL and MICHAL MEIDAN, in S. BOISSEAU DU ROCHER and F. GODEMENT (eds.), *Asie – 2005-2006*, Paris, La Documentation Française.

« L'Afrique dans la nouvelle géopolitique de l'énergie »

PIERRE NOËL and PHILIPPE COPINSCHI, *Afrique contemporaine*, n° 216, 4/2005.

« Les États-Unis et le pétrole du Moyen-Orient »

PIERRE NOËL, (available on <www.ifri.org>).

Immigration, identity, citizenship

Book

Les militaires français issus de l'immigration

CHRISTOPHE BERTOSSI and CATHERINE WIHTOL DE WENDEN, Paris, Centre d'études en sciences sociales de la Défense (C2SD) (to be published by Robert Laffont).

Policy Papers (available on <www.ifri.org>)

La Turquie dans l'Union européenne ?

SAMIM AKGÖNÜL, « Policy Paper », n° 18, August (foreword by CHRISTOPHE BERTOSSI).

Les politiques canadiennes d'immigration sont-elles exportables en France et en Europe ?

DENISE HELLY, « Policy Paper », n° 15, August (foreword by CHRISTOPHE BERTOSSI).

Articles

« Immigrés (vote des) » et

« Turquie (débat sur) »

CHRISTOPHE BERTOSSI, in YVES DÉLOYE (ed.), *Le Dictionnaire des élections européennes*, Paris, Economica.

« Introduction »

CHRISTOPHE BERTOSSI, in JOHN REX (ed.), *Ethnicité et citoyenneté: la sociologie des sociétés multiculturelles*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

International issues

Book

Droits d'ingérence

PHILIPPE MOREAU DEFARGES, Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, 2005

Articles

« L'ONU a soixante ans »

PHILIPPE MOREAU DEFARGES, *RAMSES 2006*.

Public discussion meetings

January

January 11

"How the Arab world sees the war"

With *Jean-Paul Charnay*, Chairman of the Centre of philosophy of strategy, author of *Principes de stratégie arabe* and *Regards sur l'Islam, Freud, Marx, Ibn Khaldun* (Éditions de l'Herne, 2003).

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*.

January 13

"Space politics: the stakes and the actors"

With *Laurence Nardon*, Fellow, French Center on the United States at Ifri, in the series "Observation and Theory of International Relations" chaired by *Thierry de Montbrial*.

January 17

"The development of the European construction and the relations with the United States"

With *Gianfranco Fini*, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

January 19

"Making Europe with the Balkans"

With *Fatos Nano*, Prime Minister of Albania.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

January 27

"The European transformation of Turkey"

With *Senem Aydin*, Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Brussels, *Michael Emerson*, Senior Research Fellow at CEPS, and *Sinan Ulgen*, Board Member of the Economics and Foreign Policy Forum in Istanbul.

Chairperson: *Christophe Bertossi*.

February

February 1st

"Australian responses to global challenges"

With *Alexander Downer*, Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*.

February 3

"India and its foreign policy"

With *Xavier de Villepin*, Former President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of Defense and the Armed Forces of the French Senate.

Chairperson: *Dominique Moïsi*.

February 7

"Montenegro and the Euro-Atlantic community"

With *Miodrag Vlahovic*, Montenegrin Minister of Foreign Affairs

Chairperson: *Dominique David*.

February 10

"Saudi Arabia between reforms and challenges"

With *Madawi Al-Rasheed*, Professor of Social Anthropology at King's College, London University, and *Stéphane Lacroix*, Doctoral Student in Political Sciences, IEP, Paris.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*.

February 17

"Coercion and stabilization: from the Balkans to Iraq and Afghanistan"

With *Étienne de Durand*, Fellow at Ifri, Round: "Observation and Theory of International Relations", chaired by *Thierry de Montbrial* and co-organized by CNAM (Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers), Paris.

February 24

"France, Germany, and the future of the European budget"

With *Friedrich Heinemann*, senior researcher at the Center for European Economic Research (ZEW), in charge of the task group on European integration, and *Maxime Lefebvre*, former researcher at Ifri on European Affairs.

Chairperson: *Hans Stark*.

March

March 1st

"The future of Europe: Finnish perspectives"

With *Tarja Halonen*, President of Finland.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

March 14

"Putin II: one year after"

With *Dmitri Trenin*, Deputy Director, Carnegie Moscow Center.

Chairperson: *Thomas Gomart*.

March 17

"Which citizenship for which Europe?"

With *Christophe Bertossi*, Fellow, Ifri. Series "Observation and Theory of International Relations" chaired by *Thierry de Montbrial* at the CNAM.

24 mars

"How China is changing the world"

With *Erik Izraelewicz*, Assistant Director of the editorial department, *Les Échos*.

Chairperson: *Frédérique Sachwald*.

March 30

"Arab world, Immigration, Islam: 'new tools', new approach"

In *Rémy Leveau's* memoriam.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*.

March 31

"The European constitution as seen by the United States"

With *Esther Brimmer*, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington.

Chairperson: *Pierre Defraigne*.

April

April 7

"Syria/Lebanon: the beginning of a new era?"

With *Elisabeth Picard*, Senior Research Fellow, CNRS/IREMAM, and *Agnès Favier*, Research Fellow, Collège de France.

Chairperson: *Judith Cahen*.

April 20

"Algero-Moroccan relations"

With *Ali Amar*, journalist, *Journal hebdomadaire*, Casablanca, *Akram Belkaid*, journalist, *La Tribune*, Paris, and *Benjamin Stora*, historian.

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

April 28

"OSCE – 15 years after the Charter of Paris"

With *Dimitrij Rupel*, President of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and Slovenian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chairperson: *Thomas Gomart*.

June

June 8

“Stakes of the presidential elections in Iran”

With Mohammad *Sadegh Kharazi*, Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*.

June 9

“What sorts of geopolitics between EU and Russia”

With *Thomas Gomart*, head of Russia/NIS program at Ifri, Series “Observation and Theory of International Relations” chaired by *Thierry de Montbrial* at the CNAM.

June 14

“Ukraine: Reshaping the security policy”

In the framework of a closed seminar, *Anatoly Grytsenko*, Minister of Defence of Ukraine, gave a brief presentation on the Ukrainian orientations in the security field.

Chairperson: *Dominique David*.

June 15

“Which Europe after May 19”

With *Jolyon Howorth*, Professor, Yale University, Senior Associate at Ifri, European Security Department, *Dominique Moisi*, Special Advisor, Ifri, *Philippe Moreau Defarges*, Senior Fellow, Ifri, co-director of RAMSES, *Hans Stark*, Director of the Research Center on Franco German Relations (Cerfa), Ifri.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

June 30

“How far can the American debt grow?”

With *Anton Brender* and *Florence Pisani*, economists at Dexia Asset Management, and *Jacques Mistral*, Secretary, financial consultant for the French Embassy in Washington.

Chairperson: *Frédérique Sachwald*.

September

September 22

“Muslims in France and Europe”

With *Valérie Amiraux*, Research Fellow CNRS; *Sophie Body-Gendrot*, Professor, University Paris-Sorbonne and Research Fellow, CESDIP/CNRS; *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Research Fellow, Ifri and *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, Senior Research Fellow, CNRS; for the presentation of *Musulmans de France et d'Europe*, edited by *Rémy Leveau* and *Khadija Mohsen-Finan* (CNRS Éditions, 2005).

October

October 4

Special guest of honor : President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

October 12

“French secularism and Islam”

With *Olivier Roy*, Senior Research fellow, CNRS, for the presentation of his book *La laïcité face à l'islam* (Paris, Stock, 2005).

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

October 18

“The terrorist ideology explained”

With *Gilles Kepel*, Senior Research Fellow, Middle East/Mediterranean, IEP Paris, and *Jean-Pierre Milelli*, Professor, IEP Paris, co-directors of *Al-Qaida dans le texte* (PUF, 2005), and *Omar Saghi*, *Stéphane Lacroix* and *Thomas Hegghammer*, co-authors of the book, doctoral students.

Chairperson: *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*.

October 19

“The Slovak Republic and the European and International stakes”

With *Magdalena Vasaryova*, State Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

October 20

“Palestinian and Israeli societies between confrontation and reconciliation”

With *Sylvain Cypel*, journalist, *Le Monde*, author of *Les emmurés. La société israélienne dans l'impasse* (Paris, La Découverte, 2005).

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*.

November

November 15

“What is the future for Ukraine, one year after orange revolution”

With *Viktor Iouchtchenko*, President of Ukraine.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

November 17

“The Macedonian way toward Europe”

With *Ilinka Mitreva*, Macedonian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chairperson: *Éliane Mossé*.

November 22

“European security: the Romanian point of view”

With *Traian Basescu*, President of Romania.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

November 23

“What future for the Euro-Mediterranean Relations?”

Ten years after the launching of the Barcelona Process, with the participation of: *Ali Bensaâd*, Senior Lecturer, University of Provence; *Christian Bromberger*, Professor, University of Provence; *Thierry Fabre*, in charge of the Euromed Unit, Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme, Aix-en-Provence; *Khadija Mohsen-Finan*, Research Fellow, Ifri; *Catherine Wihtol de Wenden*, Senior Research Fellow, CNRS/CERI; *Dimitri Nicolaidis*, Historian, Paris VIII.

Chairperson: *Denis Bauchard*.

November 28

“Poland after the Elections”

With *Olivier Louis*, Chief of the economic mission for central Europe and Baltic Countries, DREE-Trésor, French Embassy in Warsaw, and *Georges Mink*, research Fellow, LASP, CNRS.

Chairperson: *Thierry de Montbrial*.

December

December 13

“Iraq between political uncertainties and oil stakes”

With *Dunia Chalabi*, Expert, Middle East/North Africa, International Energy Agency (IEA), and *Pierre-Jean Luizard*, Senior Research Fellow, CNRS.

Chairperson: *Judith Cahen*.

20 décembre

“Serbia on its way to Europe”

With *Boris Tadic*, President of Serbia.

Chairperson: *Xavier de Villepin*, honorary senator, member of the Ifri Board of Directors.

Eur-Ifri (Brussels)

Conferences

May 20

The EU between the “Yes” and French “No”

With *Philippe Herzog*, President of Confrontations Europe, *Charles Jenkins*, Director of Western Europe, *The Economist*, *Diego López Garrido*, member of the Spanish parliament (PSOE), former member of the European Convention, *Kalypso Nicolaïdis*, Vincent Wright Professor at the IEP, Paris, *Étienne de Poncins*, Chief of staff of the French Minister delegate for European Affairs, *Jan Tombinski*, Ambassador of Poland to France.

Chairperson: *Pierre Defraigne*.

July 11

Germany: the Weaknesses of a Competitive Economy

With *Hans-Helmut Kotz*, member of the Board of Governors of the Bundesbank.

Chairperson: *Gerhard Stahl*, Secretary General of the Committee on Regions and *Pierre Defraigne*.

Lunch discussions: “Eur-Ifri’s Tuesdays”

April 19

The EU’s Constitution: Would United Kingdom say No?

With *Matthew Baldwin*, Head of Unit for Market Access, DG Trade, European Commission.

April 26

The EU’s Constitution: France between ‘yes’ and ‘no’

With *Philippe Ries*, journalist, chief of the Agence France Presse Office in Brussels.

May 3

Fiscality: a European perspective

With *Robert Verrue*, Director General, DG Taxation and Customs Union, European Commission.

May 17

Growth and inequalities in EU: trade-off or win-win?

With *André Sapir*, Professor at the Université Libre de Bruxelles.

May 31

Trade diplomacy: how are big negotiations led? The case of the WTO.

With *Hervé Jouanjean*, Deputy Director General, DG External Relations, European Commission.

June 7

Europe, two no’s after

With *Thomas Ferenzi*, journalist, Chief of the Brussels office, *Le Monde*.

June 21

Trade diplomacy: how do big negotiations work in practice? The Case of Mercosur.

With *Karl Falkenberg*, Director, DG Trade, European Commission.

July 5

How to improve the transition of COREPER to 25?

With *Jan De Bock*, Ambassador Permanent Representative of Belgium.

July 12

Preventing and managing financial instability in the Euro area

With *Alexander Lamfalussy*, Former President EMI.

September 6

European economic governance

With *Jean Pisani-Ferry*, Director of Bruegel.

September 20

The four workshops of Euro

With *Pervenche Beres*, Member of European Parliament, Socialist Group.

September 27

Global and European environmental challenges

With *Catherine Day*, Director General, DG environment, European Commission.

October 4

What’s at stake with regard to the social model in the upcoming European council of end October

With *John Monks*, General Secretary, European Trade Union Confederation.

October 6

After the German elections, which coalition and which consequences for the EU?

With *Hans Stark*, General Secretary of the Research Center on Franco-German Relations (Cerfa).

October 10

What’s the Cost of an Uncoordinated Position of the UE at the World Bank?

With *Hervé Carré*, General Director for Economic and Financial Affairs at the European Commission and *Bernard Snoy*, Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities.

Chairperson: *Jean-Paul Mingasson*, Unice.

October 18

European Union, Five months after the French and Dutch reject

With *Jean-Louis Boulanges*, Member of European Parliament (UDF-ADLE).

October 25

Eurogoup: towards a strengthened European economic governance?

With *Grégoire Brouhns*, Director General, Social and Economic Affairs, Secretariat General of the European Council.

November 15

The 25 Members Commission at work

With *Sabine Weyand*, Head of cabinet of Commissioner Louis Michel, European Commission.

November 22

Recent Developments of the Council over Six Years

With *Jean-Claude Piris*, Director General of the Legal Service of the Council of the European Union.

December 8

Why the eurozone needs a political dimension?

With *Wolfgang Munchau*, Associate Editor, *Financial Times*.

December 13

Capitalism, globalization and adaptation strategies

With *Eric Le Boucher*, Editor, *Le Monde*.

In 2006, Eur-Ifri projects notably to organize two conferences:

- 1) on the European social model;
- 2) on the geopolitical dimensions of environmental governance.

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for Scientific Research)

Financial annex

Consolidated balance sheet (euros)

2004		2005					
Assets	Net value	Cost	Deprecation Provisions	Net value	Liabilities	2004	2005
Fixed assets					Funds		
Intangible assets	7 037	289 393	279 579	9 814	General fund	8 470 553	8 470 553
					Reserve	1 015 373	1 203 251
Tangible assets	8 042 346	10 994 128	3 028 034	7 966 094	Restricted fund	47	47
					Deferred grant income	224 702	41 702
Financial assets	19 239	54 808	10 061	44 747	Net income for the year	184 910	-211 800
Fixed assets	8 068 622	11 338 329	3 317 674	8 020 655	Funds	9 895 585	9 503 753
Current assets					Provisions	258 849	296 830
Inventories	2 515	2 514		2 514	Creditors		
Prepayment and accrued income	73 983	75 980		75 980	Bank overdrafts	250	250
Account receivable	438 096	600 663		600 663	Account payable and other liabilities	377 951	236 624
Others debtors	34 749	40 788		40 788	Taxes and social security	528 421	516 917
Portfolio (fixed interests)	2 819 976	1 883 626		1 883 626	Accruals and deferred income	565 915	151 522
Bank balances	189 030	81 670		81 670	Current liabilities	1 731 386	1 202 143
Current assets	3 558 349	2 685 241		2 685 241	TOTAL LIABILITIES	11 626 971	10 705 896
TOTAL ASSETS	11 626 971	14 023 570	3 317 674	10 705 896			

Consolidated accounts (euros)

Expenditure	2004	2005
Expenditure	61 252	74 013
<i>Stationary</i>	<i>35 381</i>	<i>32 579</i>
<i>Power and water</i>	<i>15 769</i>	<i>13 955</i>
<i>Books</i>	<i>3 540</i>	<i>27 479</i>
<i>Paper for Ifri's journal</i>	<i>6 562</i>	
Other expenditures	1 452 926	1 616 810
<i>Printing</i>	<i>105 113</i>	<i>39 961</i>
<i>Rental for machinery</i>	<i>50 412</i>	<i>141 807</i>
<i>Maintenance</i>	<i>92 464</i>	<i>101 275</i>
<i>Insurance</i>	<i>13 693</i>	<i>14 382</i>
<i>Documentation</i>	<i>66 658</i>	<i>67 496</i>
<i>Honoraria and professional services</i>	<i>504 459</i>	<i>660 933</i>
<i>Donations, membership subscription</i>	<i>15 775</i>	<i>12 468</i>
<i>General travel and meetings</i>	<i>501 345</i>	<i>474 544</i>
<i>Postage and telephone</i>	<i>103 007</i>	<i>103 944</i>
<i>Sundry expenses</i>		
Taxes	384 154	370 108
Staff costs	2 798 784	2 757 983
Deprecation and provisions	326 392	307 802
Deferred grant income	175 598	1 700
Operational activities expenditure	5 199 106	5 128 416
Financial costs	7 063	12 371
Exceptionnal costs		164 000
Net income for the year	184 910	
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	5 391 079	5 304 787

Income	2004	2005
Public grants	2 035 276	1 893 497
Donations and members suscriptions	1 261 401	980 794
Research funding	1 713 740	1 840 787
Subscriptions to Ifri's Journal	135 973	
Other income	177 187	240 229
Operational activities expenditure	5 323 577	4 955 307
Financial income	49 178	56 599
Exceptionnal income	18 324	81 081
Net expenditure for the year		211 800
TOTAL INCOME	5 391 079	5 304 787

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